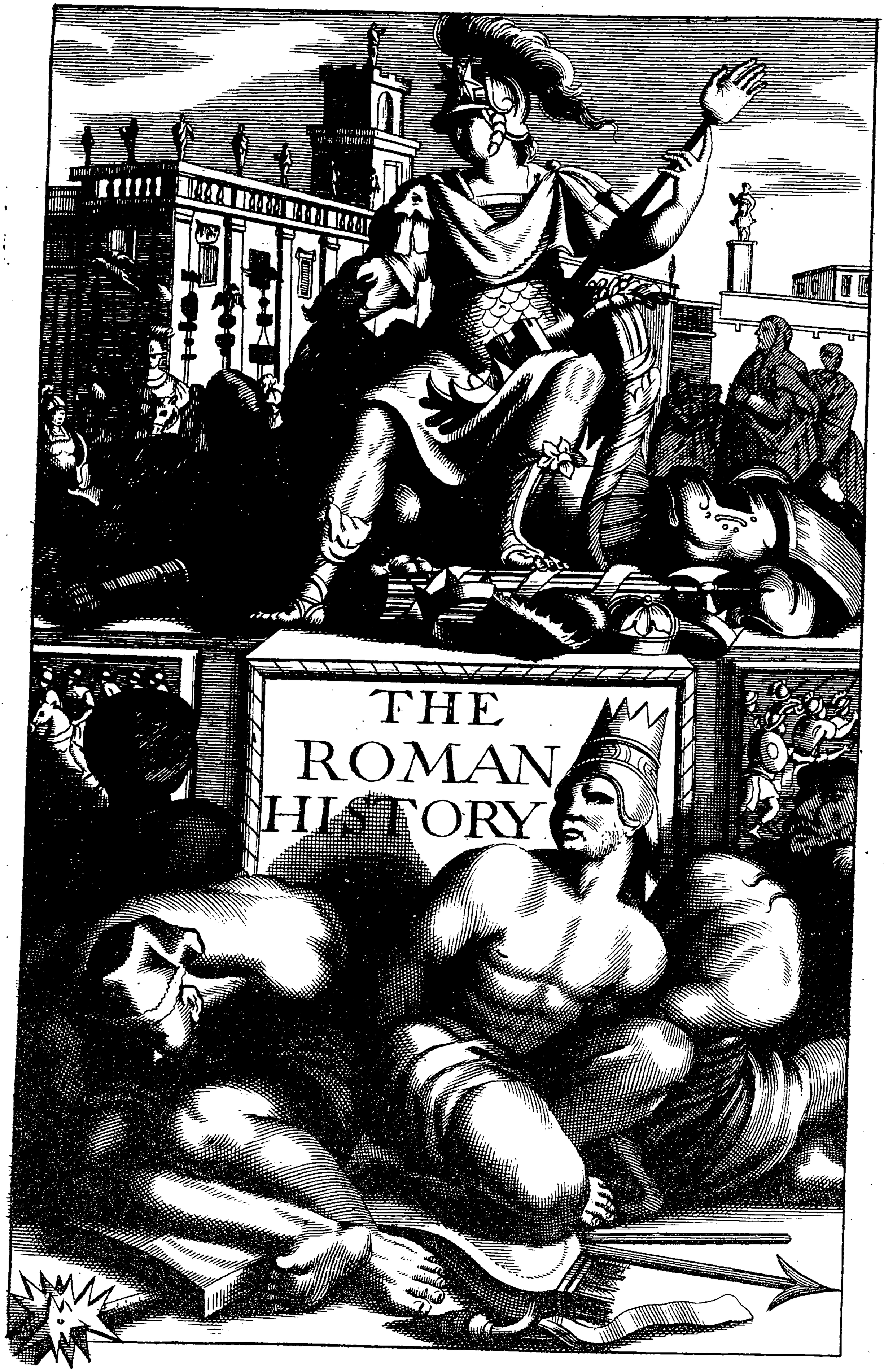
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THE
ROMAN
HISTORY

THE ROMAN HISTORY,

From the Removal of the

Imperial Seat

BY

Constantine the Great,

To the Total Failure of

The Western Empire

IN

AUGUSTULUS.

Containing the Space of 146 *Years.*

VOL. III.

Being a Continuation of Mr. *ECHARD's* Hiſtory; with his Recommendatory PREFACE.

LONDON,

Printed for *Jacob Tonſon*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate, next *Grays-Inn* Lane, 1704.

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Mr. ECHARD's PREFACE.

HAving resolv'd not to concern my self further in the *Roman History*, I am desir'd to write a Line or two in Relation to this *Third Volume*, which is written by One whose Person is unknown to me. I dare not presume to set up for a Judge in Matters of this Nature; but, according to my Opinion, I believe it to be a very well digested, useful and entertaining History; especially to all such as have thought fit to read over the two first Volumes upon this Subject. The Author's Method seems to be clear and natural, his Transitions neat and illustrating, and his Reflections and Observations judicious and instructive; particularly in Page 170, 171, and the Conclusion.

Mr. Echard's *Preface.*

His Stile, in the main, I take to be Grave, Manly, and proper for the Greatneſs of the Subject; in which there is Perſpicuity without Meanneſs, Strength without Stiffneſs, and Politeneſs without Affectation. This is what it appears to me, after a careful Peruſal of this Work: But, as I wanted Opportunity of examining it with the Ancient and Original Authors, from whence it was taken; ſo all that I can ſay as to that Matter is, That I have no Reaſon to think it unfaithful or defective: And I am glad to find my own Deſign ſo well incourag'd, and ſo advantagiouſly purſu'd.

Louth in *Lincolnſhire*,
Novemb. 6. 1703.

Lau. Echard.

THE

The Author's

PREFACE.

THE *great Succeſs the two Firſt Volumes of the* Roman *Hiſtory met with in the World, tho' it was no more than what was due to the Author's Merit, was however an undeniable Inſtance of its extraordinary Uſefulneſs and Entertainment. As the Subject was great and peculiar, ſo was it written with a Genius equal to it; and the ſeveral Excellencies of thoſe ancient Authors that have been made uſe of in the framing this Hiſtory ſeem blended together, and dreſs it out in all the Beauties of Antiquity. Theſe obvious Conſiderations made me think, that at leaſt the vulgar Readers might probably*

bably desire to know what was the End of that State, which had been so extraordinary in its Beginning; and to leave it with the Second Volume look'd, in my Opinion, like a Ceremony too much in practice amongst some Men, who stick fast to their Friends in their Prosperity, but drop 'em with the first Opportunity, when once Fortune has forsaken 'em. The Roman *Greatness appear'd too Majestick, even in its Ruins, not to require our Attention; for Great Men, as whilst living they are gaz'd upon with Admiration, so when dead are they usually attended with a solemn Reverence to their Graves: But another more prevailing Motive made me wish a Continuation of this History. The Enemies of Christianity have imputed the Downfal of the* Roman *Empire to the Principles of our Religion, as if it choak'd in its Professors the Courage, Vigour and Generosity of their Fore-fathers, and taught 'em to be sluggish, unactive, and*

no

no otherwise than passively Valiant; that it was inconsistent with that Greatness of Mind, which so eminently distinguish'd the ancient Romans *from the rest of their Co-temporaries, and introduc'd a Poorness of Spirit, that made 'em careless and insensible of their ancient Glory.*

This was not only glanc'd at by the Heathen Writers of those Times, but is too frequently insisted upon in common Discourse by some Men of this Age, who think themselves wiser than the rest of Mankind, and assume a Privilege of condemning the Sense of all those whose Reason won't suffer 'em to concur with them in their airy Fancies, and ill-grounded Imaginations. The Reader, upon a Perusal of the following Sheets, will find the Fallacy of those Insinuations, and that the Downfal of the Roman *Empire was owing to other Causes than what have been suggested by these*

The Author's Preface.

Men; and that both Principles and Practices, very oppoſite to thoſe enjoin'd by the Goſpel, occaſion'd its Ruin.

As ſoon as I *underſtood that he, who was beſt able, intended to concern himſelf no farther in it,* I *was perſuaded to undertake this Third Volume; but by that time* I *had diligently conſulted the Original Authors, from whom* I *was to be ſupply'd, and had recourſe to thoſe Modern Writers, upon whoſe Aſſiſtance* I *in a great meaſure depended,* I *quickly found how much Difficulty there was in the Attempt. However, the Encouragement* I *receiv'd from ſome who had the Peruſal of the Firſt Part of it, and who were Men of too much Learning and Judgment to be deceiv'd themſelves, and of too much Integrity to deceive me, made me proceed with great Chearfulneſs; nor, 'till the Publick Cenſure of the World has condemn'd me, will* I *repent of my Undertaking.*

The Author's Preface.

I have throughout this Third Volume aim'd at ſo much Sincerity, the very Life of Hiſtory, that I may preſume to tell the Engliſh *Reader he muſt not think himſelf converſing with a Modern Writer in the following Sheets, but with* Ammianus Marcellinus *himſelf, with* Zoſimus, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Caſſiodorus, *and the reſt; the ſubſtance of whoſe Hiſtories, as far as they related to my preſent Deſign, I endeavour'd faithfully to recite, diveſted of that Partiality, which, upon an unbias'd Enquiry, appear'd too notorious in ſome of the beſt among 'em, and are a manifeſt Inſtance to us of Human Frailty. Nor muſt I omit the great Helps I receiv'd from Monſieur* Le Seur, *and Doctor* Howell, *who at leaſt directed me in my Enquiries, and often help'd me out in my Method and Obſervations.*

As

The Author's Preface.

As I am ready to confeſs my ſelf far from being perfect in my Performance, ſo, by way of Excuſe, may I be allow'd to reply, that neither are theſe my Guides infallible; they are moſt of 'em diſtinguiſh'd by ſome peculiar Failings, which I have endeavour'd to avoid, becauſe I knew I was to be anſwerable for Faults enow of my own. I have interſerted ſo much of the Church Affairs, as I thought would appear to be of a piece with the Body of the Hiſtory. If the Reader finds my time not ill ſpent, my Deſign is anſwer'd, nor will I be concern'd at the Opinion of ſome Men, with whom Learning is of ſo ſmall a value, that a bare Pretention to, or Acquaintance with it, is an unanſwerable Objection with them, as if that Man was unfit to thrive in the World, who entertain'd Thoughts that ſoar'd above the Dregs of it.

The Author's Preface.

I hope the Errors of the Preſs will appear to be very few; the moſt material are theſe that follow, which the Reader is deſir'd to correct with his Pen before he proceeds.

ERRATA.

PAGE 14. line 10. for *Daughter* read *Siſter*, p. 18. l. 20. f. *guilty of* r. *puniſhable with*, p. 27. l. 4. f. *but* r. *for*, l. 13. f. *led* r. *offer'd*, p. 38. l. 16. f. *eminent* r. *imminent*, p. 41. l. 1. dele *to*, p. 56. l. 4. r. *Beſançon*, p. 93. l. 25. after *King* r. *of*, p. 101. l. 28. f. *and* r. *his Father*.

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THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

VOL. III.

From the Removal of the Imperial Seat by Conſtantine *the Great, to the total Failure of the* Weſtern *Empire in* Auguſtulus.

Containing the Space of about 146 *Years.*

CHAP. I.

From the Removal of the Imperial Seat by Conſtantine *the Great, to the Admiſſion of the* Goths *into* Thrace.

Containing about 45 *Years.*

I. HOW prevalent ſoever the Reaſons that induced *Conſtantine* to ſettle the Imperial Seat at *Byzantium* appear'd then to him, Experience has ſince ſhown they were weak and impolitick; for undoubtedly by that the *Roman* Great- A. D. 330.

Add. Bib.

neſs received a fatal Stroke: And the Reader will find, in the Proſecution of this Hiſtory, which we intend, God willing, to continue down to the total Failure of the *Weſtern* Empire in *Auguſtulus*, that it never after appeared in its natural Vigour; but, like Flowers tranſplanted into a Foreign Clime, languiſh'd by degrees, and ſhrunk at length into nothing.

However, as he deſign'd to fix his own Court there for the future, ſo he deſired it might be honour'd with the ordinary Reſidence of the ſucceeding Emperors; for which purpoſe he omitted no Coſt or Labour, that might render it either beautiful or convenient, and by that Means invite 'em thither. He divided it into fourteen Regions, built a Capitol, made a *Circus Maximus*, an Amphitheatre, ſeveral *Forums*, *Porticus*'s, and other publick Works; which, together with the many Churches built upon a Religious Account, added much to the Luſtre of the City. The Magnificence of which when he found it anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Deſign, in a very ſolemn Dedication he conſecrated it *To the God of the Martyrs*; encourag'd the Inhabitants by many Acts of Grace, ſecur'd them by many wholeſome Laws, and Royal Immunities; for finding himſelf for two or three Years paſt diſengag'd from War, he had more leiſure to purſue his other Deſigns; but the Year following he was drawn

A. D. 332. by the *Sarmatians* into their Quarrel with the *Goths*, who finding *Conſtantine* had evacuated all the Garriſons along the *Danube*, made new Irruptions into *Mœſia* and *Thrace*, where they committed unheard of Cruelties, and ravaged the Country; but the Emperor, by his Son *Conſtantine*, obtain'd a memorable Victory over 'em, and finiſh'd the War with that Succeſs, that near 100000 of the Enemy were deſtroy'd by Hunger and Cold, beſides thoſe that fell by

by the Sword; upon which they were conſtrain'd to ſue for Peace, and deliver up Hoſtages to the Emperor, among whom was their King's Son.

The *Sarmatæ* thus deliver'd from the Inroads of the *Goths*, were, two Years after, more cruelly oppreſs'd by their own Slaves, whom in their Extremities they had been forc'd to arm againſt their Enemies, and who by that means grown ſenſible of their Strength, threw off the Yoke, and turn'd their Arms againſt their Maſters, for whoſe Defence they had been entruſted in their Hands; and herein they ſucceeded ſo well, that they forc'd 'em, to the number of 300000 of both Sexes, all Ages and Conditions, to fly for Refuge to the Emperor; by whom they were diſpos'd in ſeveral Parts of *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedonia*, and *Italy*, but ſuch among 'em as were fit for Service, he incorporated in his Legions. This Example being follow'd by ſeveral of the ſucceeding Emperors, prov'd very pernicious to the Empire; for theſe Barbarians growing too ſtrong for the natural Inhabitants, among whom they were ſettled, by degrees diſpoſſeſs'd their Landlords, and became Maſters of the Country. This Year *Syria* and *Cilicia* were grievouſly afflicted with a Peſtilence and Famine, which ſwept off an infinite number of People, as likewiſe a great many were deſtroy'd by an Earthquake in *Cyprus*. A. D. 333.

And as theſe Parts of the Body Politick labour'd under thoſe civil Calamities, ſo was the Church no leſs afflicted with inteſtine Diſtractions; for about this time we find *Athanaſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, cruelly perſecuted by the prevailing *Arrians*, and formally condemn'd in the Council of *Tyre*, for ſeveral pretended Crimes objected againſt him: From whence we may learn, how fatal the Proſperity the Church then enjoy'd prov'd to her, how it open'd the Gates of the Sanctuary it ſelf to Corruption,

and infatuated ſo many of her Teachers with Envy, Malice, and Ambition.

Theſe things happen'd in the thirtieth Year of this Emperor's Reign, at which time *Calocerus*, a Man of great Authority in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, procur'd himſelf to be declared Emperor: But *Dalmatius* being ſent with an Army againſt him, defeated him, and took him Priſoner; and having ſettled all things in that Iſland, he carry'd him to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where he was burnt alive.

For this Service he was created *Cæſar*, together with *Conſtans* the Emperor's third Son, in the ſame Year, being the thirtieth of *Conſtantine*'s Reign, which he celebrated at *Conſtantinople* with great Magnificence: And the Year following *Conſtantius* his ſecond was married to *Euſebia* a Lady of an illuſtrious Birth, and extraordinary Knowledge for one of her Sex. The Nuptials were ſolemnized with all imaginable Splendor, the Men and Women feaſted apart, and the Emperor, in honour thereof, beſtowed Gifts upon all Nations and Cities. Theſe Feaſtings were prolonged by the Arrival of ſome Embaſſadors from the *Eaſt-Indies*, who brought him Preſents of great Value, but greater Rarity; not only precious Stones, but ſeveral Animals unknown before to the Weſtern parts of the World; intimating, as my Author has it, that his Empire extended to the utmoſt Bounds of the Ocean, and that as *Britain*, the Limits of the Weſt, ſubmitted to him at his firſt Promotion, ſo now at laſt the *Indians* in the Eaſt acknowledged his Sovereign Authority.

A. D. 336.

Having receiv'd this Homage from the *Indian* Embaſſadors, he divided the Government of the Empire in this manner; *Conſtantine* the Eldeſt commanded in *Gaul*, and ſome Weſtern Provinces; *Conſtantius* govern'd *Africk* and *Illyricum*; and *Conſtans* rul'd in *Italy*. *Dalmatius* was ſent to defend thoſe

Parts

Parts that border'd upon the *Goths*; and *Annibalianus* had the Charge of *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia* the leſs. This Diviſion was not made by *Conſtantine*, as if he intended by that to diveſt himſelf of his Sovereignty, but for the better Government of the Empire, and Education of his Sons, tho' it ſeem'd indeed an Ominous Introduction to that Partition, which was made in little more than a Year after. He was now near Sixty Years of Age, and yet was ſo healthy and vigorous as to endure Exerciſe, Riding and Travel; of ſo perfect an Underſtanding as to be able ſtill to Compoſe Prayers and Orations, and aſſiſt with much Dexterity at the framing his Laws both Civil and Military.

Not long before his Death he made a Funeral Oration, in which he diſcours'd much of the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Puniſhments of another Life; by theſe, and ſuch like Methods, preparing for himſelf an eaſie Diſmiſſion out of this; 'till his Meditations were interrupted by the Diſturbance the *Perſians* made in the Eaſt, of which, as ſoon as he receiv'd an Account, he rais'd a powerful Army, intending, as he ſaid, to make this his laſt Victory; but the Enemy being advertis'd of his ſudden Expedition, and fearing to be engag'd in a War with him, diſpatch'd away their Embaſſadors, who upon an humble Deſire of his Friendſhip, and a Promiſe to make good whatever Satisfaction ſhou'd be requir'd, obtain'd a Peace. After this, finding himſelf feavouriſh and diſtemper'd, he made uſe of the warm Baths of the City, but receiving no Benefit from thence, he remov'd for change of Air to *Helenopolis* (a City built by him in Memory of his Mother) and from thence to *Nicomedia*; in the Suburbs of which Place, call'd *Achyrona*, he was Baptiz'd, declaring he deſign'd to have receiv'd that Seal of his Salvation in the Wa- A. D. 337.

ters of *Jordan*, but God in his infinite Wisdom had otherwise dispos'd of him. Then having partaken of the Holy Eucharist, he departed this Life on the two and twentieth Day of *May*, in the 62d Year of his Age, and 32d of his Reign (tho' the punctual time as to both is not fully agreed upon) the first Year of the 279th *Olympiad*, the 1090th Year of *Rome*, *An. Dom.* 337. *Fab. Tatianus* and *Felicianus* being Consuls, and about seven Years after the Removal of the Imperial Seat to *Constantinople*. Thus dy'd *Constantine* the Great, to the unexpressible Grief of the whole Empire, especially of the Church, which he had freed from Tyranny, and a most horrible Persecution. The Character of this Emperor is variously describ'd according to the various Passions and Affections of those Authors who have writ concerning him; the Heathen Writers wounding his Memory with all the Virulence imaginable, and the Christians beautifying it with accumulated Honours and Encomiums; however they all agree in this, that he was a Prince of innumerable Excellencies both of Body and Mind, ambitious of Military Glory, fortunate in War, but not more Fortunate than Industrious; a great Promoter of Learning, and of himself much addicted to Read, Write, and Meditate; if he was sometimes over credulous, as in the Case of his Wife *Fausta*, and the *Eusebiens*, by whose artificial Insinuations he was induced to Discountenance St. *Athanasius*, and the Orthodox Christians, it proceeded more from the Easiness than Malignity of his Nature, and was a Fault in others rather than in himself. His improvident Removal to *Constantinople*, and fatal Division of the Empire at his Death, are indeed Errors too apparent to be vindicated: But then his Zeal for the Gospel, and the Protection he gave it throughout his Dominions, made

Constantine *dies.*

His Character.

made his Subjects and Poſterity a Compenſation more than equivalent, by opening to 'em the Gates of everlaſting Life, and giving 'em a Title to a better Kingdom, of an Eternal Duration.

The Soldiers ſo ſoon as they heard of the Emperor's Death tore their Cloaths, fell proſtrate on the Ground, knock'd their Heads againſt the Walls, and gave other Publick Teſtimonies of their Sorrow, as were agreeable to ſo general a Calamity; whilſt their Officers in mournful and paſſionate Expreſſions call'd him their *Preſerver, Deliverer and common Parent*; and the Townſmen joining with the reſt in the Solemnity of Woe, ran like Mad-men about the Streets, or ſate at home bewailing their Loſs, dejected and oppreſs'd with Sorrow. When Grief wou'd give 'em leave, the Soldiers took up the Body, and, covering it with Purple, carry'd it in a ſolemn manner to *Conſtantinople*, where it was expoſed in the Palace, with Lights burning round it, and Attendants watching it. Here Court was kept as if he had been ſtill living; the great Officers that were wont to adore or ſalute, doing their Duty to him now as formerly; the Senate and all the Magiſtrates paid him the ſame Reſpect, and the Citizens were not wanting to teſtifie their deep Senſe of his Loſs, who had been ſo Noble a Founder and Benefactor to their City. Nor did Old *Rome* forget to ſympathize with the New; for as ſoon as they heard of his Death all their Shops and Publick Baths were ſhut up, their Sports and Recreations which were us'd in times of Proſperity were intermitted. So publick was the loſs of one Prince, who in his Life had been ſo general a Bleſſing.

II. *Conſtantius* (while his Brethren were abſent) arrived at *Nicomedia* ſoon after his Father's Deceaſe, and his firſt Act of Authority was

his putting to Death his Uncle *Conſtantius Dalmatius*, and his Sons *Conſtantius Cæſar*, and *Anaballianus*: Tho' ſome think he no more than barely permitted, rather than order'd theſe Executions; yet they who plead by way of Excuſe his Father's Command in his laſt Will, becauſe they attempted to poiſon him, as ſome have improbably reported, and the Danger of Competition (for three Brothers were thought ſufficient for the Government of the Empire) leave no room to doubt of the large ſhare he had in 'em. However it were, this Act no way deterr'd the Soldiers from declaring him and his Brethren *Auguſti*, or Emperors, which they did on the Fifth of the *Ides* of *September*; and ſometime after the Diviſion of the Empire was confirm'd between 'em at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*. In which Diviſion, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and part of *Africa Proconſularis* fell to *Conſtantine* the eldeſt; to *Conſtans* the youngeſt, *Italy*, with the reſt of *Africk*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and thoſe Parts that border'd upon the *Euxine* Sea; and to *Conſtantius*, *Mœſia*, *Thrace*, with *Conſtantinople*, *Aſia*, *Egypt*, and the Eaſtern Empire, as far as from *Illyricum* to *Niſibis*. This Partition, tho' founded upon their Father's Teſtament, was not made without ſome Heat and Diſſatisfaction, which, tho' compos'd for ſome time by *Conſtantius*, proved in the end fatal to the eldeſt, who thinking his Share too little for an elder Brother, demanded of *Conſtans* no leſs than the reſt of *Africk*, and all *Italy*; and to make good his Claim Invaded his Brother's Territories with a powerful Army, and was Slain near *Aquileia*, in the third Year of his Reign.

A. D. 338. In the mean time *Conſtantius* removed into *Syria* againſt *Sapor* King of *Perſia*; who preſuming upon *Conſtantine*'s Death, and the mean Opinion he had of his Children, had ravaged *Meſopotamia*, and was

fate

ſate down before *Niſibis*, which *Conſtantius* was reſolved to relieve, but the Work was done to his Hands before his Arrival; for *Sapor* deſpairing of Succeſs had rais'd the Seige, and was retiring back. This was attributed to the Sanctity of *James* the Biſhop, during whoſe Life and Reſidence there all his Deſigns againſt that City were ineffectual.

After this *Conſtantius*, that he might have leiſure to attend other Affairs, incited the *Arabians* to Invade King *Sapor*, and divert him elſewhere; whilſt he intent upon ſuch Regulations in that Country as he found neceſſary, iſſued out ſeveral Edicts to that purpoſe, by one eſpecially inhibiting all Inceſtuous Marriages, under no leſs a Penalty than that of Death. Here we ſhall leave him 'till the Affairs in *Italy* call upon him to revenge the Murder of his Brother *Conſtans*, who was now become ſole Emperor of the Weſt by the Death of *Conſtantine*, and in the Year 341. gain'd a Battel againſt the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and the Year following overthrew and quieted them; from thence he came over into *Britain* to puniſh the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had ſtarted out into Rebellion. The Particulars of this Expedition, which were recorded in the former part of *Ammianus Marcellinus* his Hiſtory, are with that Peice loſt to Poſterity. After this he return'd into *Gaul*, and having obtain'd to himſelf a quiet Poſſeſſion of his Brother's Provinces he grew remiſs, and through his Intemperance contracted an ill Habit of Health, which render'd him very unfit for Buſineſs, and regardleſs of the State; nor did he take care to ſupply it with honeſt and able Miniſters, but preferr'd thoſe to the moſt profitable Employments, who were able to lay down the moſt Mony for 'em, and who for that reaſon oppreſs'd the People by an irregular Adminiſtration; the *Odium* of which, as it is cuſtomary in ſuch Caſes,

A. D. 341. Conſtans *his Wars in* Gaul.

flew

A. D. 349. flew back upon himself. This, together with his Inactivity, which had render'd him disagreeable to the Army, and the Absence of *Constantius*, who was employ'd in the *Persian* War, encourag'd *Magnentius*, who had the Command of two Legions, to set up for himself, in which he was assisted by *Marcellinus* Præfect of the Treasury. *Marcellinus* in Honour of his Son's Birth-day had invited *Magnentius*, and several among the chief of the Army, to a Supper; and about Midnight, whilst they were in the height of their Jollity, *Magnentius* upon a pretence of some necessary Occasion withdrew, but a short time after return'd in the Imperial Robes attended by a Guard. Those of the Company who were privy to the Design immediately saluted him with the Title of Emperor, and the rest who at first look'd on it as no other than a Play or a Jest, (and as such it's probable, had the Plot miscarry'd, they intended it should pass) surpriz'd with the thing, at last follow'd their Example. Several of the chief Citizens of *Autun*, where this Scene was acted, were then in Company, who concurring with the rest induced the Inhabitants to salute and own him as *Augustus*; by which means he seized on the Palace, and distributed Mony among the Multitude, they who continued Loyal to their Prince being too weak to oppose him. Having proceeded thus far, he sent *Gaiso*, a Principal Commander in the Army, with a Party of Men to dispatch *Constans*; who being advised of what had pass'd, threw off the Imperial Robe, thinking to make his Escape, but was Murder'd by *Gaiso* himself in a Place call'd *Helena*, a little Village at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*. Thus fell *Constans* in the Tenth Year after the Death of *Constantine* his Brother, in the Consulship of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, *An. Dom.* 350. His violent End may seem a just return of Providence upon

Magnentius *Rebels.*

Procured Constans *to be Murder'd.*

A. D. 350.

upon him for the Murder of his Brother, and his looſe intemperate Life. At his firſt entrance upon the Government his Adminiſtration was both juſt and vigorous; and it may be ſaid of him throughout his whole Reign, that all the Provinces under his Juriſdiction enjoy'd a continued Serenity; for he kept the Neighbouring Nations in Peace about him, which was attributed rather to his Art in procuring of Hoſtages, than the Terror of his Arms: But his Tyrannical Deportment after his Brother's Death, his Licentious Life, and the little Care he had to ſee the Diſcipline of the Army ſtrictly obſerv'd, encourag'd *Magnentius* to riſe up againſt him, and Crown his Rebellion with his Death. A. D. 350.

But the People quickly found themſelves the Loſers in this unhappy Change, for *Magnentius* was of a cruel barbarous Nature, and being elevated with his Succeſs cauſed all the Magiſtrates in the Country, whom he had ſent for in *Conſtans* his Name, before his Death was known, to be Murder'd upon the Road; nor could he reſtrain his Hands from the Blood of ſome of thoſe who were Conſpirators with him. Notwithſtanding all theſe his Cruelties, and tho' he had declar'd his two Brothers, *Decentius* and *Deſiderius*, *Cæſars*, and at the ſame time diſpatch'd 'em to make ſure of *Gaul* and *Spain*, yet was his Sovereignty frail and precarious; for no ſooner had *Nepotianus*, the Nephew of *Conſtantine* the Great, heard of the Death of *Conſtans*, but he went with a Company of Gladiators, and ſeveral others of broken and deſperate Fortunes, who had eſpouſed his Cauſe, to ſeize on *Rome*, which ſome of *Magnentius* his Party had ſecured before, wherefore he ſate down before the City and Beſieg'd it; but engaging with *Marcellinus*, whom *Magnentius* had ſent with an Army againſt him, he was defeated, and loſt his Head, after he had pleas'd himſelf with the

Magnentius *his Cruelty.*

Nepotianus *ſets up for himſelf.*

Nepotianus *defeated and ſlain.*

the Title of Emperor Twenty seven Days. But Heaven, which thought fit to punish *Magnentius* for his perfidious Ingratitude to his Master, rais'd him up another Competitor in the Person of *Veteranio*, General of the Foot in *Pannonia*. He fearing least *Magnentius*, who was now become Master of *Italy*, shou'd break into *Pannonia*, and possess himself of that Country too, assumed the Imperial Robe, and was saluted Emperor by the Legions under his Command, by whose assistance he secured that Province, and fix'd his Head Quarters at *Mursa*, a Town belonging to it. Some say he advertis'd *Constantius* of his Proceedings, promising to assist him against *Magnentius*, which will not seem improbable if we consider the kind Usage he afterwards met with from that Emperor, who receiv'd the News of his Brother's Death, and *Magnentius* his Usurpation, with a Resentment that became him, and was fully resolv'd to chastise the Treason; but was at present deeply engag'd in the *Persian* War. For *Sapor* taking an Advantage from the Disturbances in the West, had miserably ravaged *Mesopotamia*, and was sate down before *Nisibis*; and finding the Besieged resolute to defend it, he drew the River off from the Town, thinking by that means they wou'd be constrain'd to surrender; which when he found ineffectual, for the Defendants digg'd very deep Wells, and had Fountains within sufficient to supply that want, he turn'd the River against the Town, and made a Breach in the Wall, which however was by an extraordinary Industry repair'd; despairing therefore of Success, and hearing the *Massagets* were making Inroads into his own Country, he return'd home after he had lost a considerable part of his Army.

Veteranio.

Sapor *Besieges* Nisibis,

and returns with loss.

Whereupon *Constantius* removed the following Year into *Pannonia*, and in his way from *Constantinople*

A. D. 350.

was

was met by Meſſengers from *Magnentius* with Offers of Accommodation. 'Tis ſaid that whilſt *Conſtantius* was deliberating on the Anſwer he ſhould return, his Father appeared to him in a Dream the Night following, holding *Conſtans* in his Hand, bidding him revenge the Death of a Prince deſcended from ſo many Emperors, upon a Tyrant and Murderer, and therein vindicate the Imperial Throne from ſo foul an Abuſe: Whereupon committing the Meſſengers to Cuſtody, he went with all Expedition to *Sardica*, a Town in *Dacia*. *Veteranio* ſurprized at his Diligence, and having before entertain'd an Inclination for his Service, went out to meet the Emperor, and receive him at his Approach; who glad of the Advantage, and pleaſed that he ſhould not have two Enemies to deal with at once, embraced him, called him Father, carried him with him to *Sirmium*, ſet him at his Table, and conſulted with him how to proſecute the War.

But ſome time after, when both aſcended the Tribunal to harangue the Army, and *Conſtantius* from the Dignity of his Birth had the Precedency of Speech given him; he reminded the Soldiers, in a very eloquent Addreſs, how much they were obliged to his Father, whoſe Liberality had been ſo extraordinary towards them, and before whom they had taken ſo many Oaths of Duty and Allegiance to his Sons: That therefore they were bound to revenge upon *Magnentius* his Brother's violent Death, and vindicate the Off-ſpring of their Patron and Benefactor from Treaſon and Aſſaſſination. Upon this the Soldiers, ſenſibly touch'd by ſo pathetical a Repreſentation, diſdaining an Uſurper ſhould ſit on the Throne of *Conſtantine* the Great, pull'd *Veteranio* down from the Tribunal, and deprived him of the Imperial Robes, who thereupon threw himſelf at *Conſtantius* his Feet, and obtain'd an eaſie Pardon

Veteranio depoſed by the Soldiers.

from

from the Emperor; who in Compaſſion to his extream Age, allow'd him a Revenue ſuitable to his Quality, confining him to *Pruſias*, a City in *Bithynia*, where he ſpent the Reſidue of his Days without ever intermeddling in the Affairs of the Empire. After this *Conſtantius*, finding the Adminiſtration of Power and Authority in Countries at ſo great a diſtance a Burden too unequal for one Man, and deſpairing now of any Male Iſſue, married *Gallus*, his Uncle *Conſtantius*'s Son, to his own Daughter *Conſtantina*, and conferr'd on him the Title of *Cæſar*; who in his Abſence was to have an Eye upon the *Perſians*, and take care of the Eaſtern Provinces, whilſt he was intent upon the Uſurpation of *Magnentius*, and ſettling the Affairs of the Empire in the Weſt. But *Magnentius* apprehenſive of the Emperor's Intentions, choſe rather to meet him abroad, than expect him in thoſe he called his own Dominions, and thereupon advanc'd with his Army to *Noricum*, and thence into *Pannonia*, where he took *Sciſcia* by Aſſault, and laid it even with the Ground. After this he waſted the Country lying upon the *Save*, and ſate down before *Sirmium*, but being repuls'd from thence by the couragious Defence of the Inhabitants, he removed, and laid cloſe Seige to *Murſa*, which *Conſtantius* was reſolved to relieve; of whoſe Approach when *Magnentius* was adviſed, he diſpoſed an Ambuſcade of 4000 *Gauls* in a Wood adjoining, with Orders to fall upon the Enemy's Rear when they found both Armies engaged: Of this the beſieged found means to acquaint the Emperor, who thereupon ſent away two Tribunes with a ſtrong Detachment to ſtop up all the Avenues to the Place, by which means the whole Party was cut off.

Gallus *created* Cæſar.

A. D. 352. *Magnentius* ſeeing his Stratagems ineffectual, gave *Conſtantius* Battel in the Plains of *Murſa*; and both Armies

Armies fought with that Resolution, that the Emperor, tho' he gained an absolute and entire Victory, was deeply concern'd to see how much the Strength of the Empire was thereby impaired and broken. *Magnentius* is said to have lost 30000 Men in this Fight, but for himself, when he found his Men begin to give Ground, and fearful of falling into the Emperor's Hands, he turn'd his Horse loose, adorn'd as it was with the Imperial Ornaments, that the Enemy might imagine the Rider was slain, and fled with a few of his Party into *Italy*, there to recruit his broken Troops, and try the Fortune of another Battel. *Constantius*, as soon as it was Day (for the Battel continued all Night, with such Animosity did they engage) beheld from an adjoining Eminence the Plain cover'd with dead Bodies, and the River it self, that ran by, choak'd up with them; at which melancholy Sight he cou'd not refrain from Tears, exclaiming against *Magnentius*, who had been deaf to all his Messages of Peace, tho' he had made him an Offer of *Gaul* upon condition he would disarm: He order'd all that were slain to be buried without distinction, and such as were wounded to be attended with Care; after which he retir'd to *Sirmium*, where he resided the rest of this Year, and the greatest part of the next, ordering in the mean time some of his Troops to pursue *Magnentius*, who was retiring in the best Order he cou'd to *Pavia*, where he defeated *Constantius* his Commanders, and removed from thence with an intent of getting into *Rome*, but at his Approach he found the Gates shut against him; upon this he passed over into *Gaul*, and by the Assistance of his two Brothers he rais'd a very considerable Army in these Provinces, which he knew were firm to his Service, and so he was enabled once more to try his Fortune with the Emperor; who hoping by his Presence to redeem the Losses

Magnentius overthrown.

Flies into Italy.

From thence into Gaul.

A. D. 353.

Losses he had sustain'd by his Generals, after having publish'd an Act of Oblivion, whereby he granted free Pardon to all such as wou'd return to their Duty, excepting those who were guilty of the many Murders committed during the Rebellion, and another touching the Auxiliary and Provincial Troops,

The Emperor marches against him.

went in person into *Gaul*, resolving vigorously to carry on the War against *Magnentius*; who made so resolute an Opposition, that several Encounters happened between 'em with various Success. At length *Magnentius* being defeated near *Lyons* retreated into the Mountains, where after he had endeavour'd in a set Speech to encourage his Men, whose Spirits began to sink under their ill Fortune, they answer'd the Conclusion of it, as the Custom was, by an Acclamation; but through an unlucky Mistake, instead of *Magnentius Augustus*, saluted him by the name of *Constantius Augustus*. This unlook'd for Omen so exceedingly disheartned him, that he immediately dispatch'd a Person of Senatorian Rank, and after him some Bishops to treat of a Peace with the Emperor, who wou'd not so much as admit 'em to his Presence, thereby teaching *Magnentius* what he was to expect from him; who perceiving there was no room left for Pardon, recruited his Army in the best manner he could, and sent a Villain to murder *Gallus* at *Antioch*, hoping the Emperor would be thereby obliged to go himself in Person against the King of *Persia*, and withdraw his Army from him. But the Person he employ'd unadvisedly discover'd the Secret of his Commission before he could put it in execution, and was thereupon executed as a Traitor. Some time after this happen'd another Engagement, near a Place call'd at this time *Montluel*, in

Magnentius *again defeated.*

which *Magnentius* was entirely routed, and with much Hazard made his Escape into *Lyons*. Where when he obsery'd that the chief of his Followers, despairing

ſpairing now of any further Succeſs, reſolv'd to make their Peace with the Emperor, by throwing him up into his Hands, and for that purpoſe watch'd the Houſe wherein he was lodg'd; he ſent for thoſe Friends and Relations that were near, whom in the Extravagance of Deſpair he ſlew with his own Hands, wounded mortally, as he thought, his Brother *Deſiderius*, and at laſt diſpatch'd himſelf, to prevent falling alive into *Conſtantius* his Power, and to avoid a lingring Death; after he had reign'd three Years and an half. This was the deſerv'd End of a Tyrant and Uſurper; the firſt Rebel that brought a Scandal upon Chriſtianity, (of which he made an outward Profeſſion) by the Murder of his lawful Soveraign. He was a Man of a prodigious Stature, and moſt outragious Morals; for he made both Law and Religion ſubſervient to his Ambition, and in the Purſuit of his aſpiring Deſigns, trampled under foot all the Obligations of Nature and Humanity. His Brother *Decentius* heard of his Death, whilſt he was preparing to relieve him; and judging it impoſſible to obtain his Pardon from the Emperor, hang'd himſelf on the 18th of *Auguſt*, at *Senonæ* in *Gaul*: Tho' *Deſiderius* was no ſooner cured of his Wounds, but upon a ſubmiſſive Application he met with an eaſie Pardon from *Conſtantius*; who notwithſtanding puniſh'd, with great Severity, the Chief of thoſe who had join'd with *Magnentius* againſt him. Thus the *Roman* Empire, which *Conſtantine* the Great had divided among his three Sons, became united in the Perſon of *Conſtantius*, the ſecond, in the 17th Year of his Reign, and the 353d after the Birth of our Saviour; he himſelf being in his ſixth, and *Gallus* in his ſecond Conſulate.

Kills himſelf.

III. At *Arles* the Emperor celebrated the *Circenſian* Games, upon the account of this important Victory; the News of which, when it was brought to

Rome, was receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction by the Senate and People; *Cerealis*, Præfect of the City, erecting a Statue to *Conſtantius*, with an Inſcription declaring him the Reſtorer of the City and the Empire, and the Aboliſher of the late moſt peſtilent Tyranny; whilſt the Emperor in the mean time was buſie at *Lyons*, in ſettling the Peace of thoſe Parts, and reſtoring them to their former Obedience. He firſt publiſh'd a general Pardon, and Act of Oblivion, to all who were not guilty of any Capital Crimes, ſuch as Murder and the like; and then made void all the publick Acts of the Uſurper, in ſeveral of which he had grievouſly oppreſs'd thoſe, who during his Uſurpation had ſtood firm to their Faith and Integrity. And to prevent ſuch Robberies as wou'd otherwiſe enſue upon disbanding the Army, he by an Edict commanded all thoſe who were to be diſmiſs'd, to apply themſelves either to Tillage, or Merchandize; declaring ſuch as diſobey'd guilty of Death.

The reſt of this Year, and the former Part of that which followed, he continued either at *Lyons* or *Arles*;
A. D. 354. but towards the Spring he removed to *Valentia*, where he waited for the Proviſions of his Army to be ſent thither out of *Aquitain*, and prepared for an Expedition againſt *Gundomadus* and *Vadomarius*, two Brothers, and Kings of the *Germans*; who by their frequent Incurſions waſted the Borders of *Gaul*, and the adjoining Provinces. Here he firſt received the unwelcome News of *Gallus Cæſar*'s ex-

The extravagant Behaviour of Gallus, travagant Deportment in the Eaſt, who behav'd himſelf more like a Tyrant and Madman, than a Prince fit to govern the Provinces committed to his Care. His unexpected Advancement, and ſome ſlight Advantages obtain'd over the *Jews* and *Perſians* at his Entrance upon the Government, had inſtill'd into him ſo much Pride and Arrogance, that he broke

out

out into all the Acts of Violence imaginable; which wou'd have ended in the Deſtruction of him that rais'd him, had his Power been equal to his Ambition. And leſt at any time his Paſſions ſhould grow cool, they were kept in a continual Flame by the reſtleſs and turbulent Spirit of his Wife, that *Mega-ra* of her Sex, whoſe Thirſt after Blood was as great as that of her Husband. Some were murder'd upon bare Suſpicion, others depriv'd of their Eſtates, and turn'd out a begging, without the Appearance of any Accuſer, or ſo much as a Slave, to put the leaſt colour of Juſtice upon their Proceedings. Mens Lives were bought and ſold, without any other Conſideration, than the Pleaſure or Advantage of thoſe who drove the Bargain. Thus *Clematius*, a Nobleman of *Alexandria*, was murder'd by the Procurement of his Wive's Mother. She burning in Luſt towards him, and not able to obtain her unnatural Deſires, turn'd her Love into Hatred, and reſolv'd to ruin what ſhe cou'd not enjoy. To which Purpoſe ſhe apply'd her ſelf to *Conſtantina*, and preſenting her with a Bracelet of great Value, obtain'd a Warrant to *Honoratus*, *Comes* of the Eaſt, to put him to Death, which was executed accordingly. *and* Conſtantina.

Theſe Proceedings made *Gallus* his Government inſupportable, and occaſion'd a World of Miſchiefs; which however *Thalaſſius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, might in ſome meaſure have prevented, had he gone prudently to work about it; but being himſelf of an haughty, arrogant Temper, he oppos'd him with too much Heat and Licence, ſending the Emperor Information of all his Actions, not privately, but in publick, and with a Deſign *Gallus* ſhould know he had done it; which, inſtead of reclaiming him, made him act with more Fury and Deſperation. Thus were the Eaſtern Provinces oppreſs'd by their own Prince at home, and at the ſame time inſulted by Thalaſſius *his imprudent Behaviour.*

their Enemies abroad. For the *Isauri*, a People accuſtomed to a ravenous pilfering Life, made frequent Inroads into the Neighbouring Parts, where they committed all manner of Violence, to revenge, as they pretended, an injurious Affront offer'd their Nation at *Iconium*, a Town in *Piſidia*, where ſome of their Country-men were expos'd to Wild Beaſts upon the Theatre, contrary to the Precepts of Chriſtianity, and the Cuſtom of Chriſtians. After they had rifled all the Merchants Ships they could find riding on the Coaſt, and from thence proceeded into the Inland Countries, ſtealing or killing whatever came in their way; they ſate down before *Seleucia*, and laid cloſe Siege to it. Of this frequent Complaints being made to *Gallus*, he ſent *Nebridius* to relieve the Place, who haſten'd with what Forces he cou'd draw together to raiſe the Siege; of whoſe Approach, when the Rovers were advertis'd, they ſav'd him the Labour, for they retir'd into the Neighbouring Mountains with Precipitation, and diſperſs'd themſelves.

Nor had the King of *Perſia* any better Succeſs at this time in his Attempts upon the Empire; he had order'd *Nohodares* his General to fall upon *Meſopotamia*, who found the Coaſts too well ſecur'd by ſtrong Forts and Garriſons to attempt any thing upon them, and therefore directed his whole Deſign againſt *Batne*, a Town famous for a Mart held there every Year about the beginning of *September*, whither the choiceſt *Indian* Commodities were at that time Imported from other Parts for Sale; this Town he hop'd to ſurprize by means of a Wilderneſs that ſtood near it, but his Intentions were diſcover'd, and he forc'd to retreat with Loſs and Diſgrace. The *Saracens* in the mean time were more ſucceſsful in their Irruptions, roving up and down, and deſtroying all they met; and then on a

ſudden

ſudden retiring without giving the Enemy time to think upon a Recovery, or Revenge.

During theſe Tranſactions *Gallus* ſo far proceeded in his Outrages at *Antioch*, that he grew a Burden and Plague to all good Men, exerciſing his Cruelties upon all alike, without regard to Quality, Sex or Age. He had Murder'd the Principal among the Senators, had not *Honoratus*, *Comes* of the Eaſt, oppos'd it with an inflexible Reſolution; and he was ſo highly delighted with the bloody Shows, which he exhibited daily upon the Theatre, that he had no regard to the Publick Edicts of the Empire, by which they were expreſly forbidden. Of all theſe his Outrages *Conſtantius* was inform'd by *Thalaſſius* and others, and therefore reſolv'd to deprive him of his Dignity, but endeavour'd firſt by fair Means and ſober Remonſtrances to recal him to his Duty, and commanded *Domitian* the Præfect, upon his Arrival in *Syria*, to try by all gentle Applications to reclaim him. But he, inſtead of following the Emperor's Inſtructions, behav'd himſelf with too much Arrogance and Indiſcretion, and provok'd *Cæſar* to that degree, who did not uſually meet with ſuch rough Uſage, that he procur'd him and *Montius* the Quæſtor in a cruel manner to be Murder'd, as he did likewiſe *Epigonius*, *Euſebius*, *Apollinaris* the Father, and the Son, and ſeveral others.

Thus groan'd the Eaſtern Provinces under the Tyrannical Government of *Gallus*, of which tho' *Conſtantius* was but too ſenſible, he was not yet at leiſure to repreſs him; for whilſt he reſided at *Valentia*, the better to proſecute his *German* Expedition, his Army which lay then at *Cabillon*, was ready to Mutiny for want of Proviſion, which had like to have prov'd fatal to *Ruffinus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of theſe Parts; for he being Uncle to *Gallus* by the Mother's

The Army like to Mutiny in the Weſt for want of Proviſions.

Mother's ſide, was for his ſake grown obnoxious to the Soldiers before, and was now requir'd to give them an Account how their Neceſſaries came to be detain'd ſo long from them; and if the forwardeſt among them, and thoſe who were capable of doing the moſt Miſchief, had not been appeas'd by ſome Preſents of Gold ſent for that purpoſe to *Cabillon*, by thoſe who were chiefly concern'd, the Severity of their Inquiſition had undoubtedly extended to his Life; but their Fierceneſs and Animoſity being by this means quieted, and Proviſions arriving in abundance not long after, the Præfect ſav'd his Life, and the Army was in a readineſs to march. They met with a vigorous Reſiſtance at *Rauràcum*, on the Bank of the *Rhine*, where when the Emperor had order'd a Bridge to be laid over, the Enemy from the other ſide ply'd the Workmen ſo warmly with their Darts and Arrows, that it was impoſſible for them to appear upon the Water; this reduc'd the Emperor to great Straits, for he knew not what Courſe to take, 'till one unexpectedly offer'd himſelf for a Guide, and undertook, for a good Reward, to conduct 'em over at a Place where it was fordable, which, in the Obſcurity of the Night, he had certainly effected, had not the Deſign been diſcover'd by ſome of their own Country-men, who had Principal Poſts of Command in the Army. Notwithſtanding which, the *Germans* ſometime after, doubtful of the Succeſs of their Arms, if they perſiſted to the extremity, ſent ſeveral among the Chief of their Nobility to ſue for Pardon and a Peace; to which the Emperor, by the Advice of his Council, and Approbation of his Army readily conſented, and ſo was now at leiſure to conſult what effectual Methods were to be taken to ſuppreſs and ruin his Couſin: The better to accompliſh which he writ ſeveral obliging Letters to *Conſtantina*,

ſtantina, expreſſing a mighty Deſire to ſee her, and invited her by all the tender Inſinuations imaginable to come to Court, thinking that the readieſt way to draw *Gallus* thither after her. She was too ſenſible of what ſhe had done not to apprehend the worſt from the Emperor; however ſhe hop'd by her artful Inſinuations, and the Privilege of a Siſter to diſarm his Rage, and without any farther Deliberation ſet out to attend him, but was overtaken by a Feavour, which put an end to her Journey, and her Life at *Cæni Galliciani* in *Bithynia*. This threw *Gallus* into a great Perplexity, for he had now loſt his only Advocate with the Emperor, whom he had too much provok'd, and who he knew was too inclinable to deſtroy his Kindred, to liſten to any Plea he could make, and was ready to lay hold on any Opportunity to deſtroy him. So that had he met with any Encouragement, or cou'd have truſted thoſe about him, who now began to deſert him in diſtruſt of his inconſtant Temper, and apprehenſion of *Conſtantius* his Power, he had certainly aſſumed the Title of Emperor; but growing every Day more perplex'd in Mind, and being by ſeveral repeated Meſſages importun'd from the Emperor to come with all ſpeed into his Preſence, but above all perſuaded to it by *Scudilo* the Tribune, a crafty inſinuating Man, who gave him all imaginable Aſſurances on the Emperor's part; he left *Antioch*, and ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, where like a Man in the midſt of Security he exhibited Publick Shows to the People, and through his confident Behaviour made *Conſtantius* more ſollicitous to provide for his Deſtruction; he therefore remov'd all the Garriſons out of the Towns through which he was to paſs, leſt his Deſperation might make him work any thing upon the Soldiers, and kept ſuch a ſtrict Watch upon him, that when he arriv'd at *Adrianople*,

Conſtantius *reſolves to get rid of* Gallus.

Conſtantina *dies.*

ple, and the *Thebean* Legions Quarter'd in thoſe Parts offer'd him their utmoſt Aſſiſtance, the Meſſengers were ſo narrowly obſerv'd, that they could by no means gain an Opportunity of ſpeaking with him.

Here he receiv'd freſh Letters requiring him to haſten away, and ten publick Carriages were provided for the Conveniency of his Equipage, but all the Officers of his Court were left behind, except ſome few that attended in his Chamber, and waited on him at his Table. In this melancholy Condition he was hurry'd away to *Petow*, or *Petovio* in *Noricum*, curſing his own Eaſineſs that had thus betray'd him into the Hands of his Enemies, and ſtung with Remorſe for his many Murders and cauſeleſs Cruelties; in this Agony of his Conſcience, that he might no longer doubt of the Deſigns laid againſt him, *Barbatio* and *Apodemius* appear'd attended by a Company of Soldiers, whom *Gallus* knew the Emperor had oblig'd ſo well that they wou'd decline executing nothing he ſhould Command; and *Barbatio* the next Day enter'd his Chamber before it was hardly Light, depriv'd him of the Imperial Robe, and cloath'd him in a common Habit, aſſuring him in the mean time by repeated Oaths, that nothing worſe than what he had already ſeen and felt was intended by the Emperor againſt him; but ordering him to riſe with all ſpeed he immediately clapp'd him into a cloſe Litter, and convey'd him to a place near *Pola* in *Iſtria*, whither *Conſtantius* had ſent Commiſſioners to examine him about thoſe he had put to Death at *Antioch*. He with Looks full of Fear and Confuſion endeavour'd the beſt he cou'd to clear himſelf, alledging that what had been done proceeded chiefly from the Inſtigation of his Wife *Conſtantina*. *Conſtantius* grew the more enraged at this Anſwer, which reflected

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in ſo high a meaſure upon his Siſter, and conſequently upon himſelf; for which reaſon, placing his whole Security in the Deſtruction of *Gallus*, he reſolv'd to put an end to his own Fears, and the other's Life together, and accordingly ſign'd the Orders for his Death, which was executed upon him as if he had been a common Thief. Thus fell *Gallus Cæſar* in the 29th Year of his Age, and the beginning of the Fourth after his Promotion; he was the Son of *Conſtantius*, Brother to *Conſtantine* the Great, and of *Galla*, Siſter of *Ruſinus* and *Cerealis*; his Death was chiefly owing to his own Tyrannical Deportment, but in a great meaſure to the Procurement of *Euſebius* the Eunuch his bitter Enemy, and to *Scudilo* and *Barbatio*, who accuſed him of more Crimes than he really was guilty of, for which Villany they met with a juſt Reward, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. He was a comely well-proportion'd Man, of yellow Hair, and a thin Beard, but ſo deprav'd in his Morals, that *Ammianus* will have him as much beneath his Brother *Julian* in every thing that was Good and Virtuous, as *Domitian* came ſhort of *Titus*. *Gallus* was kill'd in the 1106th Year of the City, the 354th from our Saviour's Nativity, the ſecond of the 283d *Olympiad*, *Conſtantius* the ſeventh, and *Gallus Cæſar* the third time Conſuls.

Gallus put to Death.

IV. The Emperor lay at *Milan* when he receiv'd the News of *Cæſar*'s Death, and what with the late Treaſons of *Magnentius*, and *Gallus* his inſolent Behaviour, he was grown ſo jealous and diſtruſtful, that his Ears were open to all the Accuſations, by which his Eunuchs and other inſinuating Courtiers procur'd the Ruin of many brave Men. He had by his Severity, and the Death of ſeveral Perſons, render'd his Victory, obtain'd over *Magnentius*, leſs acceptable to the People, who found

Conſtantius grows Jealous and Cruel.

found the Act of Indemnity of no Advantage to whomsoever the Emperor had the least reason to mistrust. Some upon little more than the bare Shaddow of Guilt were first fetter'd like Wild Beasts, and then were put to Death, depriv'd of their Estates, or banish'd, and that without the appearance of any Accuser against them. These Proceedings cast a great Blot upon the Reign of *Constantius*, especially in the Opinion of our Writers; for the Effects of his Jealousie extended as far as this Island, whither one *Paul*, a Notary, born in *Spain*, was sent to reduce such of the Army as had revolted to *Magnentius*. They that were guilty purchas'd their Safety with their Mony, by which way of Traffick, having once tasted the Sweetness of Riches, like a ravenous Wolf, he ran Headlong into all Villainous Practices, making the most innocent guilty, if they had but Estates, in which he intended to have a share. One *Martin* was at this time Vicar of these Provinces, who being much offended at *Paul*'s Oppressions, endeavour'd at first by his Intercessions to stop the Career of his Villany, but finding that ineffectual, he was then forc'd more openly to oppose him; and the Contest grew so high between them, that he resolv'd at length to quit this Place, rather than be a Witness of the daily Outrages that were committed. *Paul* foreseeing this would put an end to his Trade, resolv'd to put him down among those that were to be accused, and us'd all his Interest at Court, that he might be sent for with the rest; of which when *Martin* was inform'd he attempted to kill the Villain, but failing therein he turn'd his Sword against himself, and by that means eased *Paul* of his Apprehensions, who pursu'd his Purpose, and carry'd his Prisoners up in Chains to Court, where some suffer'd a long uncomfortable Imprisonment, others were

Paul, a Spanish *Notary, sent into* Britain.

His Behaviour there.

were put to Torture; ſome were proſcrib'd and baniſh'd, and others put to Death. This was the uſe the Emperor made of his Succeſs againſt *Magnentius*, but after he found himſelf got rid of *Gallus* he grew exceedingly elevated, and gave himſelf up to the Hyperbolical Encomiums of his Ambi- Conſtantius *his Vanity.*
tious Flatterers, by whom he was ſo far poiſon'd as to arrogate to himſelf the Title of *Lord of the whole World*; yet whilſt he aſpir'd to tranſcend the Dignity of the greateſt, he outwardly pretended to equal the Morality of the very beſt of Princes. But ſtill his Ears continu'd ſo open to whatever Accuſations were led to him, that Multitudes of People were brought out of the Eaſt in Chains to *Aquileia*, where one *Arbora* and *Euſebius* ſate upon 'em as Judges, and without making any Diſtinction between the Guilty and Innocent paſs'd Judgment equally upon all, ſentencing ſome to the Rack, and after that to Baniſhment; others to Servile Offices in the Army, and the reſt to Death it ſelf; for 'tis obſervable throughout this Emperor's Reign, that few or none eſcaped Condemnation in one of theſe kinds upon the ſmalleſt Preſumption of their Guilt. Theſe venerable Judges having diſpatch'd the Buſineſs for which they were ſent, return'd back in Triumph to *Conſtantius*, who whilſt he was employ'd in making Laws at *Milan*, relating to the Corporations and ſeveral Officers of State, and in too ſtrict an Inquiſition after Offenders, receiv'd Advice that the *Lentienſes*, a People dwelling upon the Borders of *Germany*, made frequent Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories, upon which War was declar'd againſt them. The Emperor ſet out in Perſon againſt them, and having march'd his Army into *Rhætia*, he there call'd a Council of War, wherein it was reſolv'd that *Arbetio*, Maſter of the Horſe, ſhould be ſent before with

with a ſelect Body, and fall upon 'em on a ſudden near the Lake of *Conſtance*. *Arbetio* follow'd his Orders, but the Enemy being inform'd of his coming, ſet upon him at ſo great an Advantage, that his Men were routed, and by the Favour of the Night moſt of 'em eſcap'd back to the Camp. The *Germans* were ſo elevated with this Succeſs, that they renew'd their Excurſions, and before it was Light ſallied out almoſt as far as the *Roman* Camp; but were ſo warmly receiv'd, firſt by the *Scutarii* provok'd by their Inſolence, and by degrees by the reſt of the Army, that the greateſt part of them were deſtroy'd, the reſt flying as faſt as they could from the Purſuers, leaving the Fields cover'd with the Slain. After the Emperor had obtain'd this ſignal Victory he return'd in Triumph to *Milan*, and there took up his Winter-Quarters.

There he had not long ſtaid before his groundleſs Jealouſies expos'd him to new Troubles, which were like to have ended in his Ruin. *Sylvanus* at that time commanded in *Gaul*, whither he was ſent by the Procurement and Authority of *Arbetio*, who was Conſul this Year together with *Lollianus*. *Sylvanus* ow'd this Advancement to the jealous Artifices of Rival Courtiers, who are apt to ſend thoſe who are able to diſpute their Maſter's Favour with them, far from his Preſence upon ſome dangerous Employment. *Gaul* had of late been very much diſtreſs'd by the Inroads of the Barbarous Nations their Neighbours, who laid all waſte before them with Fire and Sword. *Arbetio* thought this the moſt convenient Expedition to remove *Sylvanus*, if not out of the World, at leaſt out of the Emperor's Sight, who as yet highly eſteem'd him for his Merit. He was a brave experienc'd Commander, and proceeded with that Conduct againſt the Enemy, that by his Means *Gaul* was deliver'd from their Incurſions. In

A. D. 355.

the

the mean time *Dynamius*, a chief Commander in the Army, forged a Letter, directed from *Sylvanus* to his Friends at Court, exhorting them to aſſiſt him in his Deſign, which was no leſs than the Uſurpation of the Empire. This Letter was produced, and *Dynamius* appointed to enquire into the Matter; who immediately apprehended all thoſe named in the Paper who were near at hand, and ſent to ſecure the reſt, who were abroad in the ſeveral Colonies. The Matter made ſo great a Noiſe, and was of ſuch high Conſequence, that *Sylvanus* could not but know the dangerous Condition of his Affairs: And tho' upon a ſtricter Enquiry *Florentius*, great Maſter of the Houſhold, diſcover'd the whole Intrigue, yet *Sylvanus*, who was well acquainted with the Emperor's credulous Temper, and knew how induſtrious *Arbetio* was to deſtroy him, concluded he ſhould be condemn'd abſent and unheard, and therefore at firſt reſolv'd to throw himſelf into the Arms of the Barbarians; but being diſſuaded from that by his Friends, he at length aſſumed the Imperial Habit; encourag'd to it by his Principal Officers, and forc'd upon it for his own Preſervation. The News of this Uſurpation was brought to the Emperor at *Milan*, who in great Aſtoniſhment ſummon'd his Council in the Dead of Night, to conſult with them what was to be done upon ſo great an Emergency. Every one teſtified his ſenſe of the Danger, in the Diſtractions of his Countenance; they found it eaſier to raiſe a Storm than to lay it; nor knew they whom they could chuſe, able to oppoſe the Torrent they ſaw rolling down upon 'em. At length they pitch'd upon *Urſicinus*, an old Soldier, perfectly acquainted in Military Affairs, having ſerv'd under and with *Conſtantine* the Great in all his Wars. He had of late been in Diſgrace, but was now ſent for, and receiv'd with all the Honour

Sylvanus ſets up for Emperor.

Againſt whom Urſicinus *is ſent.*

they

they thought due to a Deliverer. In employing him the Courtiers propoſed to themſelves a double Advantage; for if he miſcarry'd in the Attempt, then ſhould they be rid of one, from whoſe Anger they apprehended a Revenge ſome time or other, for the Injuries he had receiv'd; but if he prevail'd upon *Sylvanus*, then they ſhould be deliver'd from the Danger which at preſent hung over their Heads.

It was reſolv'd in Council, that *Conſtantius*, as if he knew nothing of *Sylvanus* his aſſuming the Imperial Title, ſhould ſend him a Letter by *Urſicinus*, enjoining him to accept of him for his Succeſſor, and return, and enjoy thoſe Places he held before at Court. Hereupon *Urſicinus* received his Diſpatches, and taking with him ten Aſſiſtants, among whom was *Ammianus Marcellinus* the Hiſtorian, he made all the Haſte he could, the better to conceal his Expedition from *Sylvanus*; but notwithſtanding all his Diligence, the News of it was got before him to *Cologn*, where at his Arrival he found a great Body of Forces drawn together in defence of *Sylvanus*. Upon this *Urſicinus* took other Meaſures, and endeavour'd to maſter his Deſigns by an outward ſhow of Submiſſion and Obedience. This procur'd him a kind Reception from *Sylvanus*, who admitted him to kiſs the Purple, as the Cuſtom was of ſaluting Emperors, and freely open'd all his Thoughts to him, conſulting with him what was to be done for their mutual Security; and complaining with great Indignation, how vile, unworthy Perſons were preferr'd to the Conſulate, from which they had been hitherto moſt unjuſtly excluded, and treated with all Inhumanity, the one being ſtained with falſe Accuſations of Treaſon, and the other hurried out of the Eaſt, and expoſed to the ſubtle Practices of his Enemies. This Security in *Sylvanus* was of great

Ad-

Advantage to *Urſicinus*, and his Aſſociates; for by degrees they wrought ſo effectually with ſome of the Guards, that early one Morning they ſet upon thoſe who had the Charge of the Palace, and having kill'd 'em, dragg'd *Sylvanus* out of a Chappel, whither he had fled, and cut him in pieces. Thus fell a brave deſerving Captain, whom the crafty Malice of his Enemies, join'd with the Emperor's Credulity, had forc'd in his own Defence to uſurp the Imperial Title: For tho' there was ſcarce a Man in the Empire deſerv'd more of *Conſtantius* than himſelf, both for his Father's Services and his own, yet he knew all would be too little to oppoſe the natural Jealouſie and Credulity of that Prince. *Ammianus* reports, that before he was ſlain in *Gaul*, the People at *Rome* cry'd out in the *Circus Maximus*, without any known Motive, or certain Grounds, that *Sylvanus* was overthrown.

Sylvanus *murder'd.*

V. *Conſtantius* expreſs'd an extraordinary Joy at this happy Deliverance, but made a very ill uſe of it; for he grew more inſolent and proud from his Security, and like *Domitian*, who quarrell'd with all that were better than himſelf; inſtead of rewarding *Urſicinus* for his extraordinary Service, he call'd him to a ſtrict Account for ſome Mony which he falſly pretended he had intercepted in *Gaul*; and proceeded with ſuch Rage againſt *Sylvanus* his Friends, that tho' *Proculus*, a lean infirm Man, endured the Rack with a wonderful Conſtancy, without accuſing or mentioning the Name of any one Perſon whatſoever, affirming on the contrary, that what *Sylvanus* did was purely out of Neceſſity, not Ambition; inſtancing, that when he paid the Army, five Days before he aſſum'd the Imperial Title, he then us'd the Name and Authority of *Conſtantius*, exhorting them all to be conſtant in their Loyalty to him; which he wou'd not have done, had he deſign'd to ſet up for himſelf,

but

but have perverted the Treasure to his own Advantage: And tho' many more were ready to attest this as real matter of Fact, yet was *Proculus* and several others condemn'd and executed.

These his cruel Proceedings against his own Subjects at home, were in some measure reveng'd upon him by his Enemies abroad; for the Barbarous Nations, in Contempt of the Peace lately sign'd, broke in upon *Gaul*, and laid all waste before 'em. This exceedingly perplex'd the Emperor, who continued still at *Milan*, and was at that time unwilling to stir out of *Italy* himself, and therefore he was of Necessity to repress the Barbarians by some other Hand. Upon this he thought of promoting *Julian*, the Brother of *Gallus*, to the Dignity of *Cæsar*, tho' he was therein opposed by his Sycophants that were about him; who, when he protested that he was unable to sustain the great Burden of the Empire alone, affirm'd nothing was so difficult but must of necessity give way to his extraordinary Courage and Conduct: And had certainly diverted him from his Design, had not the Empress interposed; who, whether averse to long and dangerous Expeditions, or observing new Troubles arising in *Pannonia*, and that the King of *Persia* was preparing to make good his Claim upon *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, concluded it impossible for the Emperor to oppose so many Enemies at once, prevail'd with *Constantius* to pursue his Intentions.

Julian had been lately sent for out of *Achaia*, and had hitherto devoted himself wholly to Study. But now the Emperor, having called the Army together at *Milan*, mounted a Tribunal made for that purpose more conspicuous than ordinary, and placed *Julian* on his Right Hand; then he address'd himself to the Soldiers, told 'em under what Necessities the Empire lay at present, and how much he stood in need of an Assistant; that therefore he

was

was inclinable, with their Approbation, to dignifie his Couſin *Julian* with the Title and Authority of *Cæſar*, who was a young Man of approved Modeſty and extraordinary great Hopes. As he was proceeding the Army interrupted him, telling him it was the Will of God, and it ſhou'd be ſo: Upon which *Julian* was clothed in the Purple Robe, and declared *Cæſar*. Then the Emperor, with a grave and ſettled Countenance, ſaluted him with the Title of *Moſt Loving Brother*; telling him, it added much to his Glory, that he could thus confer a Dignity, in a manner Hereditary, to ſo near and dear a Relation; that he look'd on him now as his Aſſociate in the Empire, bound to ſhare with him the Cares and Labours that attended it; that he committed *Gaul* to his Protection, and placed him at the Head of a ſtout couragious Army; that being a valiant Man himſelf, he made no doubt but he wou'd appear ſuch upon Occaſion at the Head of his Troops, and animate his Soldiers by his own Courage, and be a Witneſs of theirs; that he might promiſe himſelf from him all the Love and Aſſiſtance he cou'd expect; concluding, that he made no doubt but by God's Aſſiſtance they ſhould govern the *Roman* World with equal Piety, Prudence, and Moderation. Thus *Julian* was created *Cæſar* at *Milan*, on the ſixth of *November*, in the Conſulſhip of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*.

Julian created Cæſar

In a few Days after *Julian* was marry'd to *Helena*, the Emperor's Siſter; and having prepared all things requiſite for his Journey, he ſet out for *Gaul* with a ſmall Train on the firſt of *November*, the Emperor himſelf attending him part of his way. At *Taurinum* (or *Trent*) he was firſt inform'd of the Ruin of *Cologne*, a famous City in the ſecond *Germany*, which the Barbarians had taken and levell'd with the Ground. This ſeem'd an ill Omen to his

And marry'd to Helena, the Emperor's Siſter.

firſt Undertaking, and made him ſay, That all the Advantage he was like to receive from his Promotion, was to periſh with more Vexation, and to make a greater Noiſe at his Fall. At *Vienna* he was receiv'd with the general Applauſe of the People, who welcom'd him with all Expreſſions of Joy, and embrac'd him as their Deliverer. And when a blind old Woman, who ask'd what Prince was then making his Entrance, was anſwer'd it was *Julian*, ſhe reply'd, Then this is he that is to reſtore the Temples of the Gods. Here he enter'd into his firſt Conſulate, the Emperor, now eight times Conſul, being his Partner: And before the Winter was well advanc'd he receiv'd Intelligence that *Auguſtodunum* (now *Autun*) a large City of great Antiquity, was beſieg'd by the Barbarians, which he prepared with all ſpeed to relieve; but upon his Approach he found the Enemy had rais'd the Siege, and were retired: Whom with the light part of his Army he purſu'd with ſuch Diligence, that he overtook 'em near *Triccaſſin*, in Higher *Dauphine*, where they engag'd him in great Multitudes, and ſome of 'em he took, more he kill'd, and the reſt he put to Flight, After this Action he remov'd to *Rheims*, where the main Body of his Army waited in a readineſs for him under the Command of *Marcellus* and *Urſicinus*. From hence, after he had held a Council of War, he march'd againſt the Enemy; who taking the Advantage of a dark wet Night, and their Ignorance of the Way, fell upon his Rear, and had cut off two of his Legions, had not the reſt of the Army, alarm'd by the ſudden Noiſe, turn'd back to their Reſcue. This made him more cautious in his Marches, and attempt ſome of the Cities upon the Borders, where when he had maſter'd 'em he might lye ſecurely, and make Excurſions from thence at his pleaſure. In order to which he advanc'd towards *Brotomagum*,

A. D. 356. *His Exploits in* Gaul.

or

or *Worms*, which after a successful Fight against the *Germans*, who endeavour'd to hinder his Designs, he took, as he did several others that proved of great Service to him in the Course of the War. From *Worms* he removed to *Cologne*, which he caus'd to be re-built; and stay'd here long enough to conclude a Peace with the Kings of the *Franks*, who grew weary of the War, and deliver'd him up one of their strong Towns. After this he went to *Triers*, and from thence to *Senonæ*, where he took up his Winter Quarters. Whilst he lay here, the Enemy, who being inform'd that a considerable Part of the Army were absent, or dispers'd through the Country for convenience of their Quarters, came on a suddain and laid Siege to the Town. He with his Officers kept watch Day and Night upon the Walls, and tho' his Numbers were too weak to make a Sally, he defended the Place so long 'till the Enemy despairing to take the Town rais'd the Siege, and drew off. All this while *Marcellus* lay near at hand, and yet he never stir'd to relieve *Cæsar*, or preserve the Place, which he ought to have done tho' *Julian* had not been in it. For this Omission the Emperor, as soon as he was inform'd of it, turn'd him out of his Commission, and confin'd him to his House. This Proceeding made *Marcellus* imagin himself highly injured by *Cæsar*, on whom he was resolv'd to be reveng'd, by instilling into the Emperor's Ears such things as might raise his Jealousie, and end in *Julian*'s Ruin. *Julian* knowing well the Malice of the one, and the supine Credulity of the other, sent *Eutherius* to answer such things as should be objected against him; which he did so effectually, that *Marcellus* his Accusation fell to the Ground. Thus ended the War this Year in *Gaul*, doubtful in the Beginning, but in the Conclusion prosperous.

He is besieg'd in Senonæ.

And raises the Siege.

Being accused by Marcellus he clears himself.

A.D. 357. The Year following, being the 21st of *Constantius* his Reign, he and *Julian* continued Consuls, the Emperor residing still at *Milan*; where he publish'd an Edict, restraining the Arbitrary Proceedings of the Provincial Officers in the Imposition and Levying of Taxes; allowing those called extraordinary never to be imposed but by the *Præfectus Prætorio* himself, and that only when there was an absolute unavoidable Necessity for it, enjoining him to acquaint the Emperor that he had imposed such a Tax; that what was done might be confirm'd by the Imperial Authority, or receive such Alterations as were judged convenient, before it was collected.

Constantius *takes a Progress to* Rome.

VI. After this the Emperor finding he had little to do resolv'd to visit *Rome*, where the Senate and all the People came forth to meet him, and so great was the Confluence, that he thought the whole World was there assembled together. He made his Entry in a Golden Chariot, which was adorn'd with such a multitude of sparkling Gems, that it rivall'd the Lustre of the Sun. The Dragons embroider'd upon Purple wanton'd in the Air about him, curling their Heads from the Ends of their Staves that glister'd with Pearl and precious Stones, and when they waved to and fro in the Winds, they seem'd alive by their Hissings, and Tortuosity of their Tails. When he came to the *Rostra* he was amazed at the sight of the *Forum*, that Demonstration of the ancient Power of the Inhabitants, and spake to the Nobility in the Senate House, and made a Speech to the People from the Tribunal. He was wonderfully delighted with the Place, but what he most admired was the Temple of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the publick Baths, the Amphitheatre, the *Pantheon*, *Pompey*'s Theatre, and other magnificent Ornaments of this *Eternal City*, as *Ammianus* calls it, and as it is stil'd by

by the Emperors in moſt of their Edicts: In a Word, he was ſo amaz'd with what he beheld, that he complain'd of Fame, which either through Weakneſs or Malice had given a lame imperfect Account of what related to *Rome*, tho' in other Matters ſhe conſtantly exceeds the Truth; and deſiring to add ſomething of his own to the Ornaments of the City, he intended to erect an *Obelisk* in the *Circus Maximus*, which was done accordingly towards the latter end of the Year.

The Empreſs *Euſebia* had in this Progreſs to *Rome* brought under a ſhow of Friendſhip *Helena Julian*'s Wife along with her; and as ſhe had formerly brib'd the Midwife to deſtroy a Boy, of which ſhe was juſt deliver'd in *Gaul*, by cutting off too much of the Navel String, ſo now ſhe practis'd with ſo much skill upon her, that ſhe prevail'd with her to take ſomething which made her Miſcarry; for being Barren her ſelf ſhe could not endure ſhe ſhould be a Mother; and ſo careful were they, ſaith the Hiſtorian, to deprive that Valiant Man of Iſſue, who notwithſtanding the many Inconveniences he labour'd under in *Gaul*, had in many reſpects been very ſucceſsful againſt the Enemy. *Barbatio*, General of the Foot, was ſent out of *Italy* with a Supply of 25000 Men, and *Julian* had drawn out his Troops Garriſon'd about *Senonæ* in Order to join him, or fall in ſeparate Bodies upon the Enemy, and try if it were poſſible to reſtrain 'em with doubled Forces, and confine 'em within their Bounds, for they had now paſs'd the *Rhine*, and were advancing up into the Country. *Julian*'s Deſign was to encloſe 'em, if he could, between his own Army and that commanded by *Barbatio*, in which he ſucceeded according to his Deſire; for the *Germans*, notwithſtanding this additional Strength, paſſing between the two Camps, in their roving

Julian's farther Progreſs in Gaul.

manner proceeded as far as *Lyons*, with an Intent to ſurprize it; but they were ſo warmly receiv'd by the Inhabitants, that judging it impoſſible to take the City they waſted the Country round about, and were returning with a great Booty; when *Julian*, who had notice of what was done, detach'd three ſtrong Parties of Horſe to three ſeveral places, by which he concluded the Barbarians muſt return, who accordingly were all cut off, except ſuch as eſcap'd where *Barbatio*'s Poſt was aſſign'd him; for *Barbatio*, as well in this as every thing elſe, labour'd all he could to oppoſe and ruin *Cæſar*, and 'tis thought the Inſtructions he receiv'd from the Emperor were to that purpoſe, who was ſaid to have ſent *Julian* not ſo much to relieve the Province of *Gaul*, as to expoſe him to ſuch eminent Danger, under which he muſt of neceſſity miſcarry; ſo that when he demanded ſeven Boats of *Barbatio* to make Bridges over into ſome Iſlands upon the *Rhine*, where ſeveral of the Barbarians had ſecured themſelves, he having notice of his Deſign burnt them all, as he did ſuch Corn as had been of courſe provided, which came his way; for having taken half to himſelf he conſtantly burnt the reſt; and after he had receiv'd a notable Defeat from the Enemy near *Baſle*, who took the greateſt part of his Baggage, and purſu'd him as far as the *Rauraci*, he as if the Summer's Expedition was over, ſent his Men into Winter Quarters, and return'd to Court, where he perſuaded the Emperor that his Army had been Victorious, and did all the ill Offices he could to *Cæſar*; who notwithſtanding purſu'd his Deſigns with Vigour, and having coaſted along the *Rhine* came to the *Three Tabernæ*, now *Zaberne*, a Fort lately Demoliſh'd by the Enemy, which he thought fit to rebuild the better to curb 'em, and hinder their Irruptions into *Gaul*. This Work he finiſh'd

ſooner

ſooner than was expected, and ſtor'd it with Proviſions for a whole Year, which he got with much difficulty out of the Enemy's Country. But whilſt he was buſily employ'd in this Work, the Barbarians animated with their Succeſs, and concluding that *Cæſar* himſelf was run away through Fear, aſſembled in great Numbers together, under the Conduct of ſix Kings, and encamp'd near *Strasbourgh*. Tho' at length they found that *Julian* was ſtill in the Country, yet being inform'd by a Deſerter that he had not above 13000 Men with him, they had the Arrogance to ſend in a menacing, imperious manner, and command him inſtantly to quit the Country he had Invaded, which was purchas'd by the Valour and Conduct of their Fore-fathers, otherwiſe that they would denounce open War againſt him. *Julian* not mov'd with the Meſſage, but laughing at the Inſolence of the Barbarians, detain'd the Meſſengers 'till he had compleated the Work, and then march'd directly againſt 'em; when he had firſt by a ſet Speech encourag'd his Men, who were of their own Inclinations forward enough, and demanded with one Voice to be led on againſt the Enemy, who inform'd of their Approach, ſtood in a readineſs to receive them. The *Romans*, during the whole Courſe of this War, had never been ſo hardly put to it as now; for beſides that the Enemy were more than double their Number, they were headed by *Chnodomarius* and *Serapio*, the moſt Valiant of their Kings, aſſiſted by five others, and ten more of the Royal Families, together with a great number of the Nobility.

His Victory over the Barbarians at Argentoratum.

The Right Wing of the *Roman* Army conſiſted of their Cavalry, which the Enemy oppos'd with the choice of their Horſe, lining their Ranks up and down with ſome Foot, who creeping and inſinuating themſelves here and there, as occaſion re-

quir'd, ſtabb'd their Horſes, and put 'em at firſt into a great Confuſion, and at laſt to an abſolute Flight; nor could all the Rhetorick *Julian* was Maſter of perſuade 'em, for a long time, to Rally and Charge a ſecond time upon the Enemy, who were by this time fallen with great Violence upon the Foot, and had cut themſelves a Paſſage through the Legions, 'till they had pierced up as far as the Body of thoſe call'd *Primani*, who being the choiceſt of the *Roman* Infantry took Advantage of their Raſhneſs, and put 'em to a diſorderly and bloody Flight. Many of 'em unable to flie faſt enough for the Heaps of the dead Bodies that choak'd up the Way, ventur'd to take the *Rhine*, wherein moſt of 'em were drown'd, kill'd or taken. Among the reſt *Chnodomarius* endeavouring to paſs the Water was purſu'd and forc'd to yield; they that took him brought him to *Cæſar*, of whom he begg'd Pardon with great Submiſſion, which being granted him, he was ſent to *Rome*, where he dy'd ſome time after of a Lethargy. Of the Enemy ſix thouſand dy'd upon the Place, beſides vaſt numbers of thoſe that periſh'd in the River. The *Romans* loſt no more than 243 Men. After this ſo unexpected a Victory the Army ſaluted *Julian* by the Title of *Auguſtus*; but he abſolutely refus'd it, and reprov'd the Soldiers for it, telling 'em 'twas an Honour belonging to none of Right but *Conſtantius*, who upon the News of his Succeſs attributed this, as he did all the reſt, to his own Fortunate Conduct, as if he had been Fighting himſelf at the Head of his Armies.

Julian, after the Battel, ſent away his Priſoners and all his Booty to *Metz*, whilſt he himſelf advanc'd to *Mayence*, where he built a Bridge over the River, and fell upon the *Germans* in their own Country, which he laid Waſte by way of Retaliation,

tion, and began to repair a Fort to which to the Emperor *Trajan* had formerly given his own Name. With this the Barbarians were so exceedingly discourag'd, that they sent and su'd for a Peace, which could not be obtain'd upon any Terms, but a Truce was granted them for ten Months, which they oblig'd themselves inviolably to maintain, and in which time *Julian* concluded the Fortifications he had begun would be finish'd; returning from thence in order to put his Men into Winter Quarters, he was forc'd to chastise some *Franks*, who presuming upon his Absence in *Germany*, had to the number of 600 rifled all the Country about *Rheims*, and hearing of his Return seiz'd on two Forts which had been dismantl'd, and therein fortify'd themselves in the best manner they could. One of these Castles standing upon the *Meuse*, *Julian* besieg'd, and tho' they defended themselves with great Obstinacy for 50 Days together in the midst of Winter, yet he press'd 'em so hard that they were forc'd to surrender, and were all sent away to the Emperor; after which he dispers'd his Men into Winter Quarters, and went himself to *Paris*, where he consulted how to improve the small time of the Truce to the Ease and Refreshment of the exhausted Provinces.

VII. The Year following the *Quadi* under the Command of *Vitrodorus*, and the *Sarmatæ* led by *Zizais* their King, broke with great Violence into *Pannonia*, upon which the Emperor early in the Spring set forward from *Sirmium* with a very good Army; and tho' the *Danube* was at that time swoln very much by reason of a sudden Thaw, he made a Bridge of Boats and pass'd the River. This unexpected Diligence in the Emperor very much perplex'd the Barbarians, who were in no manner prepared to receive him, so that they who were best

A. D. 358. *The Quadi Invade the Empire.*

able

able to defend their Country, instead of resisting the Enemy, shifted for themselves, and left their Friends and Relations expos'd to the Fury of the *Roman* Soldiers, by which means all that part of *Sarmatia* which lay neareſt to *Pannonia Secunda* was entirely ruin'd. This at length provok'd the Inhabitants so far, that being assisted by their Friends the *Quadi*, they try'd their Fortune in several Rencounters, but were as often defeated. This made 'em so desirous of Peace, that they were content to deliver up themselves, their Wives, Children, and Territories into the Emperor's Hands to purchase it, which however they obtain'd upon cheaper Terms, being only oblig'd to restore the Prisoners they had taken, and for the future submit to his Commands.

but are suppreſt by Constantius.

This Act of Clemency towards *Zizais* and his Associates had such Operation upon their Neighbours, that those of the *Quadi* who inhabited beyond the Mountains, and the *Sarmatæ* next adjoining to them, in a just Sense of the many Outrages they had committed, came in the greatest Humility to sue for a Pardon and Peace, which they obtain'd upon giving up their Hostages chosen by Lot out of the Sons of the Nobility, and with them such Prisoners as they had taken. There yet remain'd the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, those who being Slaves had dispossess'd their Masters, as we observ'd before, who had committed such Outragious Villanies as call'd aloud for Punishment; however the Emperor intended to deal more gently with them than they deserv'd, and only to remove 'em farther off, that they might not be tempted by Opportunity so often to infest the Empire. Upon appearance of the *Roman* Army they pretended an extraordinary Fear, as if they expected nothing but Destruction: They begg'd Pardon, and promis'd an yearly

yearly Tribute both of Men and Mony, and to remain ſubject to the Empire. *Conſtantius*, who gave too great Credit to their gentle Behaviour, order'd 'em to come over to the hither Bank of the River, there to be inform'd of his Pleaſure, which they did but rather to diſpute his Commands than obey 'em, and to let him know they were not afraid to Face his Army. The Emperor obſerving their ſurly Temper, ſo diſpos'd of his Men as to encompaſs them, and prevent their Deſigns ſhould they attempt any Violence; then ſtanding on an Eminence rais'd on purpoſe that he might be ſeen and heard, attended by ſome of his Principal Officers, and his Guards about him, he gently admoniſh'd them to be quiet. But they mixt their Deſires of Peace with a ſort of Stratagem, for they caſt their Targets at a great diſtance from them, as in Jeſt, that going to take them up they might gain the more Ground, and give the better Onſet. Night coming on, the Army with Banners diſplay'd fell upon them, whereupon they made with great Fury towards the Throne; but the Soldiers ſpeedily forming themſelves into the ſhape of a Wedge, with great Violence remov'd them, and then ſlaughter'd them like ſo many Wild Beaſts caught in the Toil; but they fell with invincible Conſtancy and Reſolution, asking neither for Pardon nor Quarter, but avowing in Death they deſerv'd a better Fortune. This Execution being over, the enrag'd Soldiers dragg'd the Relations of thoſe who were Slain out of their Huts, and without regard to Sex or Age deſtroy'd all alike. Some that eſcap'd attempted to ſwim the River, but were either drown'd or kill'd by the Purſuers. The reſt of theſe *Limigantes* upon Security of the Publick Faith came down from the Mountains, and flock'd with all their Relations to the *Roman* Camp, from whence they were remov'd by

their

their own Consent to other Places, where for some time they liv'd in Peace and Security, but at length return'd to their former Fierceness and Barbarity. After this the Emperor, for these his Atchievements call'd *Sarmaticus* by his Soldiers, return'd to *Sirmium* in Triumph; from thence he remov'd towards *Constantinople*, the better to prepare against *Sapor* the King of *Persia*, who for some time had laid Claim to *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, and was now resolv'd to make it good by force of Arms.

A. D. 359.

The King of Persia *begins new Troubles.*

VIII. He being now in perfect Peace with the Princes his Neighbours, and observing the Distractions of the Empire, thought it a proper time to pursue his Pretensions. *Constantius* was wholly guided by *Eusebius* the Eunuch, a proud, factious, intreaguing Courtier, who listen'd more to his own Avarice, Ambition or Revenge, than his Master's Honour or Profit. *Ursicinus* at that time commanded in the East, and was the fittest Man in the Empire for that Post in Case of a War. *Eusebius* had long been contriving his Ruin, as being the only Person who was either Independent of him, or else scorn'd his Support; and herein he succeeded so far that he was recall'd to Court under a Pretence of succeeding *Barbatio*, who had been lately Beheaded, and *Sabinianus* a decrepid old Man, every way unfit for such an Employment, was sent in his Place; who making what haste he could to be possess'd of his new Dignity, produc'd the Emperor's Letters to his Predecessor at *Cilicia*; the Substance of which being known abroad created great uneasiness in the People, who judg'd themselves expos'd to manifest Ruin, being depriv'd of their Guardian at so nice and dangerous a Conjuncture; on the other Hand the King of *Persia* was resolv'd not to omit so favourable an Opportunity, but march with all speed and

Ursicinus *recall'd from his Command,*

and Sabinianus *sent in his room.*

and ſeize on thoſe Countries, which were now govern'd by ſo unfit a Commander; being prompted to it by the Advice of *Antoninus*, who had lately been a Servant to the Emperor, but being injur'd and oppreſs'd by the great Officers had withdrawn with all his Family, and thrown himſelf into the Protection of *Sapor*; to whom he diſcover'd the whole State of the Army, of what Numbers the ſeveral Parties conſiſted, of what Strength, where Quarter'd, and who commanded them in times of Expedition; as likewiſe whence, where, and how they were furniſh'd with Arms and Proviſion.

In the mean time *Urſicinus*, purſuant to his Orders, was returning into *Italy*, but in *Thrace* he receiv'd Letters from *Conſtantius*, requiring him to haſte back into *Meſopotamia*, but without any Guard, for that the Power was now entruſted in another's Hand; and this was contriv'd on purpoſe by his Enemies, that the new Commander might have the Honour of the Action if the King of *Perſia* miſcarry'd, but if he ſucceeded in his Expedition, the Ignominy might be charg'd upon *Urſicinus* as a Traitor to his Country. However he return'd in Obedience to the Emperor's Command, and tho' he found *Sabinianus* a Man of a mean Spirit and narrow Soul, he took the beſt Care he cou'd, and diligently fortify'd *Niſibis*, leſt the Enemy ſhould attack it unawares. Underſtanding the *Perſians* had paſs'd the *Tigris*, he with ſome Forces travers'd the Country, burnt up all the Forage, and fortified the Bank on this ſide *Euphrates*; ſo that the *Perſians* cou'd neither find Subſiſtance for their Army, nor a Ford to paſs the River, 'till *Antoninus* conducted 'em more towards the Right, where they found Graſs and Corn enough, and a Place towards the Head of the River that was fordable. During theſe Marches and Counter-marches *Urſicinus* by chance met with *Antoninus*, whom he reviled

viled in very bitter Terms, calling him Villain and Traitor. *Antoninus* instead of endeavouring to conceal himself, leap'd from his Horse, took the *Tiara*, which as a Badge of the greatest Honour had been presented him, from his Head, bow'd himself to the Ground, call'd him Patron and Lord, and begg'd him to pardon him; confessing he had embrac'd a dishonourable Course, but was necessitated to it by the Avarice and Oppression of some, against whom neither your Power, said he, Virtue or Authority can protect you; and then withdrew to his Party with all the Signs of Submission and Respect.

Not long after this two *Roman* Castles were surrender'd to *Sapor*, who in prosecution of his Designs came the third Day after, and sate down before *Amida*, the Metropolis of *Mesopotamia*, much beautify'd and enlarg'd by *Constantius*; which he expected would have been deliver'd up to him immediately, and not have hinder'd him in the Pursuit of those Councils had been suggested to him by *Antoninus*, concluding those within would not dare to hold out, when once they beheld him in all his Pomp of Majesty at the Gate: But was highly incens'd when he found they were so far from receiving him with the Honour he expected, that they assaulted him with their Javelins from the Wall, one of which was directed so well that it cut off part of his Robe: Upon which he exclaim'd against them with as much Indignation as if they had sacrilegiously robb'd a Temple, in that they had presum'd to offer Violence to him that was Lord of so many Kings and Nations, and therefore finding upon a second Trial that they were inflexible, he resolv'd at once to destroy the Town and the Inhabitants, and accordingly prepar'd for a vigorous Attack; whilst they within, who thought of nothing but how to die with most Honour, prepar'd for as vigorous a

King Sapor *besieges* Amida.

De-

Defence. Never was Seige carry'd on with more Bravery, nor ſo many Men loſt in ſo ſhort a time. The Beſieg'd, beſides the Difficulties they met with from without, labour'd with as great within; for ſuch a noiſom Stench aroſe at that hot Seaſon of the Year from the multitude of dead Bodies which cover'd the Streets, and which they had not time to bury, that it bred a devouring Peſtilence, which ſwept away almoſt as many as the Sword. In the mean time *Urſicinus*, tho' much diſdaining to be ſubjected to the Command of another Perſon, eſpecially one ſo unworthy as *Sabinianus*, however ſent and advis'd him to bring the *Velites* into the Field, that they might divert the Enemy, and force him to raiſe the Siege, or at leaſt diſtreſs him in his Trenches, and intercept him by Stratagems as he removed from Place to Place. But *Sabinianus*, who had privately agreed with thoſe who had promoted him never to give his Predeceſſor the Opportunity of doing any thing that would redound to his Honour, tho' the Provinces in the mean time lay at ſtake, abſolutely deny'd him, alledging his Inſtructions were to do nothing that might endanger the Army.

Urſicinus *deſiring to relieve it, is oppos'd by* Sabinianus.

There were in *Amida* two Legions of *Gauls*, who had formerly ſerv'd under *Magnentius*. They, unuſed to the Fatigues of Sieges, were impatient to ſee themſelves immured up, whilſt their Enemies raged with ſo much Fury abroad; eſpecially when they beheld from the Walls a multitude of miſerable Wretches led into Slavery, whom *Sapor* had forc'd out of the ſeveral Forts in the Country, whither they had flock'd for Safety, many of whom ſpent with Travel, and unable to proceed any further, they hamſtring'd, and left behind on the Roads: Whereupon grown too unruly for their Commanders, they took the Advantage of a dark miſty Night, and iſ-

A deſperate Attempt of ſome Gauls.

ſued

ſued out at a Poſtern, arm'd with Swords and Battle-Axes, having firſt fortified themſelves by their Prayers, and then proceeded with ſo much Caution that they were in hopes of reaching the King's Quarters without Diſcovery; but falling of neceſſity upon the Guards, whom they cut in pieces, the Noiſe of the wounded quickly alarm'd the Body-Guard, which put theſe daring *Gauls* to a ſtand, who finding themſelves fruſtrated of what they chiefly aim'd at, retir'd in the beſt order they cou'd out of the Lines, with their Faces ſtill turn'd towards the Enemy, and by degrees recover'd the City with the Loſs of 400 of their Company, beſides thoſe that were wounded, having narrowly miſs'd killing the *Perſian* King, tho' ſurrounded by an Army of 100000 fighting Men. The riſing Sun diſcover'd to the *Perſians* the mighty Loſs they had ſuſtain'd; ſeveral of the Principal Nobility were found among the Slain, which rais'd a general Lamentation throughout the Camp, the King himſelf having the greateſt Reaſon to bewail the Loſs of his neareſt Friends and Relations. This made him puſh on the Siege with more vigour, and oblig'd the Beſieg'd to defend themſelves with more obſtinate Reſolution; and thus Rage combating with Deſpair occaſion'd the Loſs of many brave Men on both ſides. But at length the very Inſtruments of their Defence reduced the Beſieg'd to the laſt Extremity. One of the Mounts they had rais'd to oppoſe the *Perſian* Towers remov'd as with an Earthquake, and fell upon the Wall bearing it down into the Ditch, where it ſerv'd as a Bridge to the Enemy, and gave 'em a large Entrance. The greateſt Part of the Garriſon were by this time kill'd or diſabled, and yet they that were left flock'd in great Numbers to make good the Breach, tho' at the certain Hazard of their Lives. But the Vigour and Alacrity of the *Perſi-*

Amida taken.

An

an King, who expoſed himſelf equally with the meaneſt Soldier, bore down all before him. The Ditch was fill'd with dead Bodies, which thereby afforded a larger Acceſs to the Town. When no further Reſiſtance could be made, the Defendants, half dead already with their Watching and Labour, were ſlaughter'd like Sheep without any Regard had to Sex or Age. Some of the moſt healthy got together, and made as reſolute an Oppoſition as they were able, reſolving to ſell their Lives at as dear a rate as they cou'd. But *Ammianus* our Hiſtorian, with two or three more eſcap'd, and got ſafe to *Urſicinus*, who was then on his way to *Antioch*. *Sapor* having raſed the City, as he threatned, return'd homeward in an outward Show of Triumph, but inwardly afflicted at the Loſs of ſo many Men, for no leſs than 30000 are ſaid to have periſh'd on his ſide before the Town; which, conſidering it hinder'd him from purſuing thoſe advantagious Deſigns ſuggeſted to him by *Antoninus*, gave him little Reaſon to brag of this Expedition.

and deſtroy'd.

Tho' *Urſicinus* had done all he could, without the Concurrence of the Commander in chief, who in ev'ry thing oppos'd him, to relieve the Town; yet the Loſs of that, and ſeveral other heinous Matters, were with all Bitterneſs alledg'd againſt him at his Return to Court, whither he was ſent for under the Pretence of ſucceeding *Barbatio*. The Emperor, whoſe Ears were always open to Accuſations, tho' brought againſt his moſt faithful Servants, committed the hearing of the Matter to *Arbetio* and *Florentius*, with Charge to enquire into *Urſicinus* his Conduct, and how *Amida* came to be deſtroy'd.

Urſicinus accus'd at Court.

The Allegations brought againſt him were ſo notoriouſly falſe, that they cou'd not for Shame but reject 'em; and yet ſo much were they afraid of offending *Euſebius*, that they durſt not lay the Load

as they ought, upon the baſe Cowardiſe of *Sabinianus*, and therefore declining any farther Enquiry into that Affair, they inſiſted only on trifling Matters, that were foreign to the Purpoſe. *Urſicinus* worthily provok'd at ſuch corrupt Proceedings told 'em boldly, that tho' they paſs'd it over with ſo much Contempt, the thing was of too great a Conſequence to be neglected: That it deſerv'd the Emperor's own Examination, who could not but ſeverely puniſh ſo foul a Miſcarriage, in whomſoever he ſhould find it; and foreſaw that ſo long as he ſuffer'd himſelf thus to be govern'd by Eunuchs, tho' he ſhould go himſelf in Perſon next Spring with an Army into the Field, yet ſhould he not be able to protect *Meſopotamia*. This was told to *Conſtantius* with very malicious Aggravations, which ſo highly incens'd him, that he broke off the Inquiſition, not permitting thoſe things to be expos'd to the Light which had been induſtriouſly hid from his Knowledge; and turn'd *Urſicinus* out of his Place, confining him to a retir'd Life in the Country.

and confined to a private life

IX. In the mean time *Julian* proceeded with wonderful Succeſs againſt the *Germans* inhabiting on both ſides of the *Rhine*, and in the end forc'd 'em to accept of a Peace, upon ſuch Conditions as he thought fit to preſcribe. And hearing the *Picts* and *Scots* were making Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories in *Great Britain*, he ſent thither his Lieutenant *Lupicinus*, who drove 'em back into the Northern Parts of the Iſland, and ſettled the Subjects of the Empire in Peace and Tranquility.

The Emperor jealous of Julian.

Theſe Exploits, which added much to *Cæſar*'s Reputation, were no way acceptable to the jealous Temper of *Conſtantius*, who thought thoſe new Acceſſions to the Empire were no other than Diminutions to his Honour and Security. He remember'd how

how dangerous *Gallus* had like to have proved to him, and look'd on him as ſtill living in *Julian*; for which reaſon he greatly deſir'd to weaken and oppreſs him, which could be done no way ſo effectually as by recalling part of his Army from him, for which he had now a fair Opportunity, and, outwardly at leaſt, a very juſt Pretence.

Sapor perſiſting ſtill in his Reſolution of conquering *Meſopotamia*, had paſs'd the *Tigris*, and laid cloſe Siege to *Singara*, which after a vigorous Defence he took by Aſſault, as he did likewiſe *Bezabde* a ſtrong Fort ſituated on a Hill, the Walls of which he repair'd, and put into it a good Garriſon, well knowing of what Conſequence it was to either Party that were in Poſſeſſion of it: And if his victorious Arms had not met with ſome Reſiſtance at *Urta*, he had undoubtedly over-ran all *Meſopotamia*; which *Conſtantius* was in Intereſt and Duty bound if poſſible to prevent, and therefore ſent to *Julian* for the beſt Soldiers and moſt experienc'd Commanders of his Army, together with all the Auxiliary Troops he had rais'd in *Gaul* and *Germany*, that by ſuch an Acceſſion of Strength he might be the better able to make head againſt the *Perſians*. Theſe Forces had been rais'd by *Julian*, upon a Promiſe that they ſhould never be oblig'd to paſs the *Alps*, nor be forc'd to ſerve in remote Parts, which their Officers in a ſubmiſſive manner repreſented to him. He receiv'd 'em with wonderful Civility, inform'd 'em that he was as much diſſatisfied as themſelves, but that it was the Emperor's Pleaſure, which by all means was to be obey'd. He highly commended ſuch of them as were known to him, remember'd them of the glorious things they had perform'd under his Conduct, expreſs'd a great Unwillingneſs to part with ſuch worthy Fellow-Soldiers; however in the Concluſion gently adviſ'd them chearfully to

Julian ſends for part of his Army;

ſubmit to the Emperor's Command, and ſignalize their Valour in foreign Parts, for which they might be aſſured of very honourable Rewards: And when he had finiſh'd his Speech he invited them all to Supper, where he entertain'd 'em with much Tenderneſs and Affection, as well as Magnificence. This Condeſcenſion prevail'd ſo far with Men, who were before unwilling to be baniſh'd in a manner from their Native Country, and were now reſolv'd never to part with ſo obliging a Commander, that they had not patience to ſtay 'till Morning, but after they were diſmiſs'd from Supper they communicated their Thoughts to one another, and return'd in a menacing manner to the Palace, which they ſurrounded, and with a rude tumultuous Noiſe ſaluted *Julian* by the Title of *Auguſtus*. He at firſt outwardly oppos'd the Honour they were beſtowing upon him, and reminded 'em of their Duty; but when he found they were firm to their Purpoſe, and that all he could ſay made no Impreſſion on 'em, he with much ſeeming Reluctancy was at length compell'd to accept of the *Imperial Title*.

who mutiny, and declare Julian *Emperor.*

A. D. 360.

For ſome time after this he kept himſelf retir'd, without any regard to the publick Affairs, as if he was diſpleas'd and uneaſie at what was done; but when he found the Soldiers began to be in a Uproar, and how it was ſpread abroad in the Camp that he was ſecretly murder'd, which threw 'em all into a Flame, he ſhow'd himſelf publickly amongſt 'em like an Emperor, and from a Tribunal erected on purpoſe he addreſs'd himſelf to 'em, as his manner was, in a very lively Speech, bidding 'em remember "With how much Virtue and Sobriety he "had liv'd among them; with how much Diligence, "Pain and Patience he had contributed to the many "Victories they had obtain'd over the Barbarians; "how he was ever a Sharer with them in all their

"La-

"Labours, whilſt in the depth of Winter, when others
"ceas'd from War, they puſh'd on their Fortunes
"againſt the *Germans*, and conquer'd thoſe, who
"'till then had been invincible. But above all that
"glorious Day was never to be forgotten, which
"in a great meaſure bleſs'd the *Gauls* with a per-
"petual Liberty, purchas'd by their own Valour
"and the Merit of their Arms in that memorable Bat-
"tel near *Argentoratum*, where whole Torrents of
"their Enemies fell with Violence upon them, but
"were receiv'd with ſuch a God-like Virtue, that
"to avoid the Terror of their Swords they com-
"mitted themſelves to the Dangers of the Deep,
"and fled from Death into the Arms of Deſtructi-
"on: He appeal'd to 'em if his Example did not
"lead 'em on to Victory, for which he tugg'd there
"where Death was buſieſt, and Danger appear'd
"in every Shape: He aſſur'd 'em that theſe their
"great Deſerts would live in the Mouth of Fame
"to late Poſterity, eſpecially if they took care to
"defend him they had rais'd, and vindicate that
"Authority which was of their own Creation; for
"his part he was reſolv'd to rule with Juſtice and
"Moderation, that it never ſhould be ſaid Valour
"went unrewarded in his Days, or Ambition ſeiz'd
"on what was due to Merit.

A Speech conſiſting of ſuch popular Topicks could not but be acceptable to the Soldier, who having hitherto receiv'd no Reward for all his Services, aſſur'd himſelf mighty Advantages from a Reign that promis'd ſuch material Regulations.

After this *Julian* began again to apply himſelf to the Affairs of State, and Exerciſe of the Sovereign Authority, making ſuch Alterations in the Court and the Army as he judg'd convenient; and knowing how much *Conſtantius* would be diſpleas'd at what was done, he diſpatch'd *Pentadius* and *Eu-*

therius, two of his Principal Officers, with Letters to him, in which he repreſented the great Labours and imminent Dangers he had undergone in the Execution of the Service he impos'd upon him, and with what readineſs he had embrac'd it. How the Army, ſenſible of his high Deſerts, and the Hardſhips they lay under in being forc'd to quit their Native Country, and ſerve in Foreign Parts, had compell'd him to accept of that, which he obſtinately refus'd 'till they threaten'd him with Death, and had given him reaſon to think they would have veſted the ſame Honour in ſome other when they had diſpatch'd him. That he own'd he ow'd his Advancement entirely to him, and ſhou'd never make an ungrateful uſe of the Power which was now given him. However he gave him to underſtand that he could not approve of his laſt Orders, that *Gaul* was ſo far from being able to ſend any of her Natives againſt the *Perſians*, that ſhe ſtood rather in need of Aſſiſtance from the other Provinces, being continually haraſs'd either with Foreign Invaſions or Domeſtick Tumults. He concluded all with an earneſt Deſire of his Friendſhip, and told him a mutual Love and good Underſtanding between Princes was the only certain Foundation of a mutual Proſperity. The Emperor was then upon his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and was advanc'd as far as *Cæſarea*, where the Embaſſadors from *Julian* found him. Upon his firſt reading the Letters he fell into ſo great a Paſſion, that they who brought 'em were in fear of their Lives; he drove 'em out of his Preſence, and commanded 'em no more to appear upon ſo Preſumptuous a Meſſage before him; then he conſider'd with himſelf whether he had beſt proceed in his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, or turn back and chaſtiſe his Rebellious Kinſman; after ſome Deliberation cooler

At which Conſtantius *is enrag'd.*

Coun-

Councils prevail'd, and he purſu'd his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*. He diſmiſs'd *Julian*'s Meſſengers without any Anſwer, but ſent *Leonas* his Quæſtor into *Gaul* preſently after with Letters to him. *Leonas* being arriv'd at *Paris* was kindly receiv'd by *Julian*, to whom he deliver'd the Emperor's Letters whilſt he was upon the Tribunal in the Preſence of the Army, at which he was not a little pleas'd. He order'd 'em to be read openly to the whole Aſſembly, who for ſome time liſten'd with Patience, but when they came to that part wherein he admoniſh'd and exhorted him, if he had any regard to his own Security, and that of his Friends, to humble himſelf and be ſatisfy'd with the Dignity of *Cæſar*, which he permitted him ſtill to enjoy, but diſapprov'd and annull'd whatever elſe had been done, they cry'd out with one Voice, *Julian Auguſtus*; alledging *it was unlawful in any to revoke what had been ratify'd by the Army and the People*; and that they were reſolv'd to ſtand by their Election. With this Anſwer *Leonas* return'd to the Emperor, to give him an Account of his Embaſſy; and *Julian*, who was unwilling, as yet, to come to an open Rupture, diſpatch'd other Embaſſadors to *Conſtantius*, by whom he aſſur'd him of his good Intentions and Zeal for his Service. After which, that he might keep himſelf and his Army ſtill in Action, he march'd into *Germany*, and having paſs'd the *Rhine*, he fell ſuddenly upon the *Atthuarii*, the Inhabitants of *Franconia*, a turbulent uneaſie People, that had lately made ſeveral Incurſions into *Gaul*, who being not prepar'd for ſo unexpected a Viſit were eaſily ſubdu'd, and forc'd to ſubmit to ſuch Laws as the Conqueror thought fit to impoſe upon them, by which means he made a ſufficient Proviſion for the Peace of the Empire on that ſide; from thence repaſſing the River he reinforc'd the

Garriſons upon the Borders, came to the *Rauraci*, where he recover'd ſome Places out of the Enemy's Hands, fortify'd 'em, and return'd by the way of *Beſançon* to *Vienna* upon the *Rhône*, where he continu'd a great part of the Winter. About this time his Wife *Helena* dy'd without leaving any Children behind her, which was imputed chiefly to the Practices of the Empreſs *Euſebia*, as has been before obſerv'd.

Helena, Julian's *Wife, dies; and the Empreſs* Euſebia.

Nor did *Euſebia* her ſelf long ſurvive her, but dy'd whilſt the Emperor lay at *Antioch*. She was a Woman of a great Capacity, and well acquainted with the Languages and Sciences. Her Wit and Conduct were ſo prevailing as to gain her an Abſolute Power over her Husband, which ſhe unfortunately abus'd in Defence of Arianiſm, a Hereſie ſhe had ſuck'd in with her Milk, and to which ſhe gave her Protection during her whole Life. And here it will not be amiſs to give the Reader a ſhort Account of the State the Church was in during this Emperor's Reign.

The State of the Church under Conſtantius.

Chriſtianity had from the time of *Conſtantine* the Great met with wonderful Encouragement, and was propagated far and near; it was profeſs'd in *Perſia*, *Armenia*, in *Georgia*, and among the *Iberi*, Inhabitants of Mount *Caucaſus*, towards the *Caſpian* Sea. It had been planted in *India*, where it had ſome Churches, a Biſhop, and Multitudes of Profeſſors, ſo that the Promiſe to the Son was already in a great meaſure accompliſh'd, *That he ſhould have the Heathen for his Inheritance, and the utmoſt Parts of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion*; but among this good Seed which the Holy Spirit of Truth had Sown in ſo plentiful a meaſure, the Enemy had mingl'd ſome Tare, which multiply'd with a ſudden Encreaſe, to the great Danger of Chriſtianity, and Scandal of the Faithful; and the Church

may

may be ſaid to have ſuffer'd more in thoſe Days from them, who profeſs'd themſelves her Fathers Confeſſors and Defenders, than the open and avow'd Malice of her moſt implacable Perſecuters.

The Council of *Nice* had in a very ſolemn manner Condemn'd *Arius* his Heretical Doctrine; to which Condemnation, tho' ſome of the Biſhops that were infected by him had craftily ſubſcrib'd, yet did they privately favour his Opinions during *Conſtantine*'s Reign, and more openly maintain and profeſs 'em under his Son *Conſtantius*; who being himſelf tainted with that abominable Peſtilence, ſuffer'd it to ſpread through *Conſtantinople* the Metropolis of the Eaſt, from whence it iſſu'd forth and poiſoned the greateſt part of the Weſtern Empire, and grew up into a mercileſs Perſecution againſt all the ſound Believers, which was the more dangerous for that it was manag'd under the Pretence of Piety. Biſhops that had been Canonically choſen, and regularly eſtabliſh'd were tumultuouſly pull'd out of their Sees by the Authority, or Connivance of *Conſtantius*, and others ſubſtituted in their Places, for no other reaſon but becauſe they violently adher'd to *Arius* his Tenets, denying the Divinity of the Eternal Son of God. One Council was ſummon'd to annul what another had done, and all things were manag'd with that Faction, Strife and Contention, as if they labour'd to quench the Spirit of Meekneſs and Brotherly Love, ſo often recommended in the Goſpel. Some were baniſh'd, ſome impriſon'd, and againſt others they proceeded with more Severity even to the loſs of their Lives; notwithſtanding which the Church had then her Confeſſors, that with a Divine Conſtancy preſerv'd the Faith entire and uncorrupted.

X. *Julian* was all this Winter considering with himself what Course he was to take, whether it was most prudent to endeavour to bring Matters to an amicable Composure with *Constantius*, and persuade him by fair means to admit him for his Collegue, or wrest a Compliance from him by open force, and by striking first add the greater Terror to his Arms. He thought it dangerous to depend upon his Friendship, under the pretext of which he might the more easily destroy him, as he had done his Brother *Gallus* before. On the other Hand it was no less dangerous to provoke him to be his Enemy, he having always been too strong for those, who set themselves up in Opposition against him; besides it would be a piece of the highest Ingratitude, to Rebel against his great Friend and Benefactor. However, after some Deliberation, he concluded it more safe and honourable to stand upon his Guard, and therefore openly assum'd the Imperial Diadem and Purple, and made all manner of Preparations to march against *Constantius*, being incited to it by his Magicians, in whom he had an entire Confidence, and the Encouragement he receiv'd from some Dreams, by which he said he knew *Constantius* was near his End. He was a downright Heathen in his Heart, but by an Hypocrisie unworthy an honest Man, much more a Prince, he constantly frequented the Christian Assemblies, insomuch that upon the Feast of the *Epiphany*, which us'd to be observ'd with more than ordinary Solemnity in the Church, he publickly assisted at Divine Service, hoping by this means to secure the Christians to his Party, who were more in number than the Heathens.

At the beginning of the Spring, whilst he was busied in forming and perfecting his great Designs,

he

he receiv'd Advice from the Borders, that the *Germans* were again flown out into Rebellion, and had committed exceſſive Outrages in the Parts adjoining to *Rhætia*, now call'd the Country of the *Griſons*, which he imputed to *Conſtantius* his Inſtigation, who deſign'd in it ſo to embaraſs the *German* Affairs, that *Julian* ſhould have no time to look after him, who indeed had enough to do elſewhere. 'Tis certain he writ to *Vadomarius*, one of their Kings, upon that Subject, and the Letters by accident were intercepted and brought to *Julian*, who found what Pains the Emperor took to entangle him, and therefore was ſo much the more provok'd to break out into open Rebellion; but reſolv'd firſt to puniſh theſe Barbarians, and ſent *Libino*, one of his Commanders, with a ſufficient Force againſt 'em; but he falling unadviſedly upon them, was kill'd in the beginning of the Engagement, and his Men routed. *Julian* advanc'd with all his Army to repair this Loſs, and was herein ſo ſucceſsful that he defeated the Enemy, took their King Priſoner, whom he ſent under a Guard into *Spain*, conſtrain'd 'em to ask Pardon, reſtore the Booty they had lately taken, and give him all Aſſurances of a quiet and dutiful Behaviour for the future; which being done, he reſolv'd to march directly againſt *Conſtantius* and attack him. So that as ſoon as he had ſacrific'd to *Bellona*, the Goddeſs of War, and had by that means ſecur'd her to his Party, he aſſembl'd the Army, and from his Tribunal addreſs'd himſelf to 'em with more open Authority than formerly. He repreſented to 'em "what great things they had already done under "his Conduct, how they had reſtrain'd the *Ger-* "*mans*, and made the *Rhine* paſſable to the *Roman* "Armies. He bid 'em remember in what a miſera- "ble Condition he found *Gaul*, and in what a "flouriſhing

"flouriſhing State he ſhould leave it; and exhorted "them to aſſiſt him with Chearfulneſs and Reſo- "lution to make himſelf own'd for Emperor, ſince "they, his great Comerades, had thought him "worthy ſo glorious a Title. He told 'em there "were greater things behind, which if he ſuc- "ceeded in this Expedition he would undertake for "their Honour, and the Welfare of the Empire. "That as he had hitherto behav'd himſelf with "all Care and Diligence, ſo would he proceed, "conſtantly endeavouring to diſcharge a good Con- "ſcience, and aim at nothing but what regarded "the Publick good. He deſir'd 'em to confirm "that Concord and Fidelity they had expreſs'd "towards him by a Military Oath, as it was u- "ſual, concluding with this Advice, That they "ſhould make haſte to ſeize upon the Limits of "*Dacia*, before the Provinces of *Illyricum* were "ſecured by Garriſons, beſeeching 'em not to ſully "the Fame they had already acquir'd by their "Moderation, nor offer an Injury to any private "Man whatſoever. When he had done, the whole Army with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy took the accuſtomed Oath, promiſing to follow him where ever he thought fit to lead 'em, and to endure all Extremities for his ſake. *Nebridius* was the only Man throughout the Army who re- fus'd the Oath; he alledg'd the great Obligati- ons he had to *Conſtantius*, and his former Oath to him would not permit him to bind himſelf by a ſecond to any other; notwithſtanding which *Julian* diſmiſs'd him in ſafety, and having preferr'd *Germanianus* to his Place, he ſent away *Saluſt* to be his Lieutenant in *Gaul*.

Julian *openly profeſſes himſelf a Heathen:*

Julian thinking his Army well ſecured to him by this Oath, began to throw off the Mask, and publickly to declare himſelf a Heathen; he took up-

on

on him the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, as was customary with his Predeceſſors that were Heathens, and ſtrictly obſerv'd all their Idolatrous Ceremonies. After this he order'd his Army to march, diſtributing it into ſeveral Parties, ſending *Jovinus* and *Jovius* with ſome by the common Roads of *Italy*, and others under the Conduct of *Nevita* through *Rhætia*, and ſo into *Pannonia*, that marching in ſuch a Compaſs they might ſeem more numerous, and ſtrike a greater Terror into their Enemies. They met with nothing to oppoſe their March, but enter'd without the leaſt Reſiſtance into *Illyricum*; for the Inhabitants were perſuaded that he came aſſiſted by all the Kings of *Gaul*, in which Provinces he had perform'd ſuch brave Exploits. At *Sirmium* he was receiv'd with the general Joy and Applauſe of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, who with frequent Acclamations brought him to the Palace, where they proclaim'd him *Auguſtus*. This proſperous Beginning was a great Encouragement to him, for he hop'd that the Example of ſo great and populous a City would influence others to do the like. The third Day after he left *Sirmium*, and took in *Succi*, a Place famous for its Situation between the Mountains *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, of which he made *Nevita* Governor; and then went forward to *Neſſus* a Town of Conſequence, where he reſided for ſome time, writing from thence a Letter to the Senate at *Rome*, in which he exclaim'd againſt *Conſtantius* his Government, loading it with all imaginable Reproaches. This Letter was read publickly in an Aſſembly of the People, by whom the Subſtance of it was in general approv'd. For *Conſtantius* was not much belov'd by the Orthodox Chriſtians, who had been perſecuted by him upon the account of *Arianiſm*, nor acceptable to the Heathens who were all for *Julian*.

And ſets out againſt the Emperor:

And is joyfully receiv'd at Sirmium.

Thus

Thus far *Julian*'s Affairs met with a ſucceſsful Progreſs; but whilſt he lay at *Neſſus* without the leaſt Apprehenſion of an Enemy at his Back, he was inform'd that *Nigrinus* a Tribune of Horſe had ſeiz'd on *Aquileia* in *Conſtantius* his Name, to whom he knew the Inhabitants were well affected, and put into it two Legions, and a Cohort of Archers. *Julian*, who knew of what Conſequence this would be to his Proceedings, order'd ſome Troops to beſiege it, who preſs'd it very hard, and attempted all Ways imaginable to reduce it; but the Beſieged behav'd themſelves ſo well, and defended it with ſo much Reſolution, that they held out 'till they heard *Conſtantius* was dead, and then they ſurrender'd.

XI. The Emperor was about this time at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, whither he had removed from *Antioch* at the beginning of the Campaign. He was continually alarm'd with the Account of *Julian*'s Behaviour in the Weſt, and at a loſs to find what Courſe the *Perſian* intended to take in the Eaſt. His Indignation prompted him to go and chaſtiſe his Kinſman, but then it troubled him to think he ſhould leave *Meſopotamia* expos'd to the Violence of the Enemy. He was willing to preſerve his Army as entire as he could in caſe of a Civil War, which he look'd on as unavoidable; and therefore declining any farther Deſigns upon the *Perſian* Garriſons, which he found by experience to be ſtrongly fortify'd, he ſent part of his Army under *Arbetio* to ſecure the Banks of the *Tigris*, and do the beſt they could to prevent the *Perſians*, ſhould they attempt to paſs it. Theſe Orders were ſo well perform'd, that the King of *Perſia* was forced to return home without attempting any thing; which when the Emperor was inform'd of he drew his Army together, and departed to *Hierapolis*, leaving only ſuch behind as were neceſ-

The Emperor prepares to meet him.

neceſſary for the Defence of *Meſopotamia*. At *Hierapolis* he caus'd his Army to be drawn up in the Camp, and from a lofty Tribunal he told 'em with a ſerene and pleaſant Countenance, "That having "through the whole Courſe of his Reign endea-"vour'd ſo to comport himſelf as to be free from "Reproach, he was now conſtrain'd to accuſe him-"ſelf before them of too much Humanity, which "he always thought conduc'd to the Publick Good. "That during the neceſſity of his Affairs he had "created *Gallus Cæſar*, who ingratefully abus'd the "Honour he had given him, and after the Commiſ-"ſion of infinite Enormities had receiv'd the Pu-"niſhment he deſerv'd. That perſiſting ſtill in his "Friendſhip and Affection to the Family he advan-"ced *Julian* to the ſame Honour, who intoxicated "with a few Advantages obtain'd over a weak un-"skilful Enemy, preſumed to rebel againſt the "Common-wealth, which it was their Part to de-"fend and preſerve from ſuch monſtrous Attempts. "That he made no doubt but when they came to "engage God would fight on their ſide, and turn "the Swords of their Enemies againſt them, in be-"half of thoſe who drew not their Swords but to "revenge the fouleſt Treaſon, and moſt barbarous "Ingratitude. The Army anſwer'd his Speech with an univerſal Acclamation, deſiring him to lead 'em where his Service requir'd, and promiſing to ſacrifice their Lives and all in the Defence of ſo juſt and honourable a Cauſe. By this chearful Anſwer exceedingly encourag'd, he diſpatch'd *Arbetio* with a good Part of the Army towards the Streights of *Succi*, where *Julian* then was waiting for the Acceſſion of ſome more Forces, with which he intended to invade *Thrace*.

The Emperor indiſpoſed is Baptiſed at Antioch.

The Emperor after this return'd to *Antioch*, where finding himſelf a little indiſpos'd he receiv'd Baptiſm

tiſm at the Hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian*. From *Antioch* he came to *Tarſus*, where he was ſeiz'd with a ſeavouriſh Fit; but believing that Motion and Exerciſe might do him good, he proceeded in his Expedition, and through many difficult Ways at length reach'd *Mopſueſtia* or *Mopſuerence*, a ſmall Town in *Cilicia*, ſituate at the Foot of the Mountain *Taurus*. Hence he intended to proceed the next Day, but was detained by the Violence of his Diſeaſe, which increaſed more and more upon him; ſo that when he found all the Means us'd for his Recovery ineffectual, he dy'd on the 5th of *October*, after he had reign'd near 38 Years, and lived 44, *An. Dom.* 361. *Taurus* and *Florentius* being Conſuls. Some ſay that at his Death he named *Julian* for his Succeſſor, for which they plead *Ammianus* his Authority; who however is not poſitive in the Matter, but delivers it in very uncertain Terms, and for fear ſo wild a Will ſhould be call'd in queſtion by Poſterity, he takes care to tell the World the Emperor was in his right Senſes when he made it. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and ſeveral others, are of a contrary Opinion; they ſay, that *Conſtantius* foreſeeing what Calamities were like to befal the Church under *Julian*'s Adminiſtration, was very ſorry he had made him *Cæſar*; after which its very improbable he ſhould declare him his Succeſſor. *Gregory* ſaith, he was likewiſe truly penitent for the many Murders he had caus'd to be committed upon his neareſt Relations, and the Cruelties the *Arian* Hereticks had made him exerciſe upon the Faithful.

Conſtantius's Death, A. D. 361.

Succeſſorem ſtatuiſſe dicitur *Julianum*.

His Character. It is not eaſie to determine whether his Virtues or Vices were more abundant in him, tho' in Charity we ought to give it for the former. He had a Capacity, both in Civil and Military Affairs, that was fit for an Emperor; and a Greatneſs of Mind which made him neglect and deſpiſe all manner of Popu-

Popularity, and taught him how to maintain the Grandure of Majeſty and Authority. He always obſerv'd that uſeful Maxim among Princes, of conferring Honours upon his Subjects with a ſparing Hand, by which he upheld the Reputation of the Nobility. The ſame Care did he uſe in preferring his Servants, advancing none to any Employment of Honour, or Profit, but thoſe who for their Diligence and Integrity had been before eminent in ſome inferiour Office. He was chaſte and temperate, and an utter Stranger to thoſe Vices with which Courts too often abound, and are uſually laid to the Charge of thoſe in greateſt Authority. He was a zealous Promoter of the Chriſtian Religion, and eſtabliſh'd ſeveral wholſome Laws for the Suppreſſion of Idolatry, Magick, and ill Manners. On the other hand, he was ſo jealous of his Authority, that upon the leaſt appearance of a deſign'd Uſurpation there was no end of his Inquiſitions. In his Foreign Wars he was generally unfortunate, and the leaſt ill Succeſs made him diſcompos'd and dejected; in his Civil Conteſts he was always proſperous, and upon every Advantage he grew proud and inſolent. He ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd too much by his Wives, Eunuchs and deſigning Courtiers, who by their abominable Flatteries miſs-led and infatuated him. He was not always conſtant in his Favours, but often recall'd what he had before beſtow'd. Add to all this, the innocent Blood he caus'd to be ſpilt during his Reign, and the Protection he gave the *Arians*, in whoſe behalf he diſcountenanc'd and perſecuted the Orthodox Chriſtians, thruſts him out of the Company of good Princes, and ſeems to have drawn down the Vengeance of Heaven upon himſelf, his Family, and the Empire: Tho' he was out-done in this by his Succeſſor, whom God thought fit to raiſe up on purpoſe to chaſtiſe and purge his Church. For

he being a ſworn Enemy to Chriſtianity, which he carefully oppreſs'd, and preferring none but ſuch as declar'd againſt it, he quickly diſtinguiſh'd thoſe who were Chriſtians indeed, from ſuch as for ſome worldly End had formerly made an outward Profeſſion of it.

Conſtantius his Complexion was brown, his Looks lofty, and his Sight quick and piercing; the Hair of his Head was ſoft; his Face, which he kept conſtantly ſhaved, ſmooth, and comely; from his Neck to his Groin he was very tall, but his Legs were ſhort and bending, which made him excellent at Leaping and Running, Exerciſes in which he took much Delight.

XII. *Conſtantius* being dead the Corps were committed to the Care of *Jovian*, to be convey'd by him in Royal Pomp to *Conſtantinople*, there to be interr'd near his Progenitors: Whilſt the chief Officers, both Civil and Military, after they had by their Tears and Lamentations teſtified the great Reſpect they had for the deceaſed Emperor, conſulted together what Methods were to be taken in reference to a Succeſſor, and after ſome time agreed to diſpatch away *Theolaiphus* and *Aliguldus* to *Julian*, to deſire his Preſence in the Eaſt, where they were all ready to receive his Commands.

Julian was all this while employing himſelf in *Illyricum*, chiefly in a ſuperſtitious Enquiry into the Entrails of Beaſts, ſometimes promiſing himſelf the beſt, at others apprehending the worſt Events; for the moſt part doubtful and uneaſie, not daring to rely upon Conjectures, which too often fall out contrary to what they ſuggeſted. Whilſt he was labouring under this Anxiety of Thought, *Theolaiphus* and *Aliguldus* arriv'd with the News of *Conſtantius* his Death, and that he had declared him his Suc-

Succeſſor: Upon which, deliver'd now from all his Doubts and Apprehenſions, he gave Orders to march away into *Thrace* with all Expedition, moving directly towards *Conſtantinople*; where he was receiv'd with the univerſal Joy and Applauſe of the Inhabitants, who beheld him with Wonder, as one dropt down from Heaven; ſcarce believing it poſſible that a young Man as he was, little in Stature, but renown'd for his great Exploits, after an impetuous March from City to City, like a riſing Flame devouring all that oppos'd him, ſhould at length, as by Divine Appointment, obtain the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Seat, without any expence of Blood or Treaſure to the Common-wealth.

Julian *arrives at* Conſtantinople.

Being thus ſettled in the Empire, his firſt Care was to puniſh ſuch as had the Misfortune to have been his Enemies formerly, tho' now ſome of 'em ſubmitted readily, and cloſed in with his Intereſt. Among theſe was *Nigrinus*, who had ſeiz'd on *Aquileia* in *Conſtantius* his Name, as we obſerv'd before, which he defended reſolutely 'till the Beſieg'd heard of the Emperor's Death, and then they ſurrender'd at Diſcretion, laying the Blame of their obſtinate Reſiſtance upon *Nigrinus*, who for his gallant Fidelity to his Prince was condemn'd to be burnt alive, which Sentence was executed upon him accordingly. *Apodemius*, who had ſo great a ſhare in the Death of *Gallus* and *Sylvanus*, and *Paul* the Notary, that violent Proſecutor, were likewiſe burnt alive: Nor would the watchful Eye of Juſtice ſuffer *Euſebius*, that execrable Eunuch, to eſcape the Puniſhment he ſo well deſerv'd. Theſe Proceedings were juſt and equitable, and had *Julian* gone no farther he had not put his Friends to the Trouble of endeavouring to clear him from the Sin of Ingratitude; but the Death of *Urſulus* is a Stain all their Arts can't waſh out. This Perſon was *Comes*

Largitionum, or Treaſurer, and when *Julian* was created *Cæſar*, and ſent into the Weſt, he perceiving they had a Deſign to ſtraighten him in Mony, that he might have nothing to beſtow upon the Soldiers, who would thereupon grow bold and ungovernable, ſent Orders to the Treaſurer of *Gaul* to ſupply *Cæſar* with whatever his Occaſions ſhould require. When *Julian* perceiv'd his Death appear'd ſo heinous to the People, he endeavour'd to excuſe a Crime he could not expiate, pretending he fell againſt his Will, and without his Knowledge, by the Fury of the Soldiers, whom a ſevere Reflection of his at *Amida* had incens'd againſt him. But this his beſt Friends and Followers allow to be a lame Excuſe; and that herein he came ſhort of that regard to Juſtice which at other times they ſay he uſually obſerv'd. An Inſtance of which they give us in his Anſwer to *Delphidius*, who having accus'd *Numerius*, ſometime before Governor of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, of robbing the Publick Treaſury; this bitter Orator finding *Numerius* give ſo good an Anſwer to all his Allegations, that there were no Proofs ſufficient to convict him, turning to *Julian* ask'd him in ſome Paſſion, *If to deny be ſufficient to be cleared, what Offender will ever be found guilty?* To whom *Julian* reply'd, *And if to accuſe be enough to condemn, what innocent Man will ever be ſafe?*

Julian reforms the Court, and the Camp.

From his Inquiſitions upon theſe Perſons *Julian* apply'd himſelf to a Reformation in the Court, the great Officers of which had from an Indigence of Fortune rais'd themſelves up to vaſt Eſtates; they burthen'd the Common-wealth by their intollerable Exactions, and debauch'd it by their vicious Examples. They were in their Demands exorbitant, in their Gifts profuſe, in their Expences luxurious; being grown ſo habituated to invade the Rights of others, that they ſtuck neither at Perjury nor Sacrilege.

crilege. Nor was the Camp leſs corrupt than the Court, where the Soldier exercis'd himſelf daily in Amorous Airs, ſlept on his Field Bed, was fed in Plate, and having enrich'd himſelf by his ambitious Courſes, grew vainly fond of Jewels, the intrinſick value of which he pretended perfectly to underſtand, unlike the Ignorance of thoſe who liv'd but in the Age before him; for it was reported of a common Soldier in the Reign of *Maximian*, that at the Plunder of the King of *Perſia*'s Camp having found a Purſe of precious Stones, and being taken with the fineneſs of it, he threw away the Jewels as things of no value, and went away highly ſatisfy'd with his good Fortune. Theſe Corruptions and Diſorders *Julian* took great Care to reform, either becauſe they call'd aloud for ſuch a Reformation, or to caſt an *Odium* upon his Predeceſſor, under whoſe Reign they had gain'd ſo much Ground. He thoroughly purg'd the Court of all that were obnoxious in it, and made ſuch Regulations in his Camp as he judg'd convenient.

He had in his Infancy been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, of which, for the moſt part, he made an outward Profeſſion, 'till by the Death of *Conſtantius* his Fears were remov'd, and he found himſelf at Liberty to Act as he pleas'd; at which time he commanded all the Temples to be open'd, ſuch as had been demoliſh'd to be re-built, advanc'd the Heathen Prieſts to their ancient Privileges and Immunities, order'd Sacrifices to be offer'd as formerly, and the Worſhip of the Pagan Deities to be reſtor'd. At the ſame time he recall'd all the Chriſtian Biſhops, whether Orthodox or Hereticks, that had been baniſh'd by *Conſtantius*; and having ſent for 'em to Court, he adviſ'd 'em to lay all Diſſentions aſide, and gave 'em free Liberty to live and believe every one as he thought fit,

Opens the Heathen Temples,

and deals craftily with the Chriſtians.

fit, intending by that Liberty to ſow greater Diſſentions among them, and ſo prevent the Dangers he apprehended if once they came to be united; for he knew by Experience, ſaith *Ammianus*, that Wild Beaſts are not ſo enrag'd againſt Men, as Chriſtians diſſenting upon Points of Faith are enrag'd againſt each other. Being himſelf bred a Scholar, he ever had a great Eſteem for Learned Men, with whom he familiarly convers'd, particularly *Oribaſius Themiſtius*, and *Libanius* the Sophiſt, who had been his Tutor, and inſtill'd into him an abhorrence to the Chriſtian Religion, which after he came to be Emperor he had a great Deſire to exterminate; but obſerving that Perſecution was ſo far from diminiſhing, that it rather encreas'd the number of its Profeſſors, who glory'd in that they were thought worthy to ſuffer for the Name of Chriſt, he therefore ſought another way to ruin them. He try'd by gentle Perſuaſions and glorious Promiſes to induce 'em to an Abjuration. He depriv'd all ſuch as ſtood firm to the Faith of all their Offices and Employments, whether Civil or Military. He prohibited Chriſtians from keeping any Publick Schools, or teaching the Sciences, unleſs they would firſt turn Heathens. And whereas 'twas Cuſtomary for the Emperors to preſent the Soldiers with a Donative upon the firſt Day of the Year, upon their Birth-days, or the like; *Julian* order'd, that whoever came into his Preſence for that purpoſe, ſhould firſt, according to an ancient *Roman* Cuſtom, offer Incenſe upon an Altar adorn'd with the Images of the Gods intermix'd with ſeveral of his own. Several Chriſtian Soldiers being better inſtructed, and more zealous than the reſt, choſe rather to loſe the Preſent than pollute themſelves with Idolatry: Some ignorant of what they were doing, and others either through Avarice or Fear, did as

the

the reſt of their Comerades that were Heathen. But ſome time after, when diverſe of 'em, who invok'd the Name of Jeſus before they ſate down to Meat, were ask'd how they came to call upon him, whom they had deny'd, having offer'd Incenſe in Honour to his ſworn Enemy; they, ſenſible of their Error, publickly proteſted to the whole World that they were Chriſtians, and were reſolv'd to live and die in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt; that they had err'd through Ignorance, and that their Conſciences had no ſhare in the Crime of which their Hands were guilty. After this they went to the Emperor, and return'd him his Donative, declaring they repented from their Souls the abominable Sin they had committed, to expiate which they were ready to ſuffer Death for the Name of Jeſus Chriſt. *Theodoret* adds, that *Julian* was ſo enrag'd at this generous Action, that he commanded all their Heads to be chopp'd off; and that when they were brought to the Place of Execution, the eldeſt among 'em deſir'd the Executioner to begin with the youngeſt, who was call'd *Romanus*, leſt ſeeing ſo many of his Companions Executed before him he ſhould, through the weakneſs of his Youth, loſe his Courage, and relapſe; and that whilſt he was calling on the Name of God upon his Knees, in Expectation of the Fatal Stroke, an Order came from the Emperor to ſtop the Execution, and they were all baniſh'd to the remoteſt Parts of the Empire.

Whilſt he continu'd at *Conſtantinople* he was courted by Embaſſadors from all Nations, among whom he was renown'd for his Fortitude, Sobriety, Military Skill, and other eminent Virtues. With theſe and his other Felicities he was much elevated, forming to himſelf Deſigns and Fancies that exceeded the Bounds of Human Nature. His Thoughts ran much upon the *Perſian* War, which he

he was resolv'd to carry on with the greatest Vigour. Before he enter'd upon it he consulted the Heathen Oracles, who all promis'd him glorious Success; but none encourag'd him to this Expedition so much as *Maximus* the Philosopher and Magician, who promis'd him no less a Victory than that which *Alexander* obtain'd over the *Persians*, persuading him, according to the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, that the Soul of that renown'd Conqueror was transmigrated into him. The gross Assurances and Flatteries of his Priests and Magicians had made him so secure and presumptuous, that he rejected the Assistance his Allies offer'd him by their Embassadors at *Antioch*, telling 'em it became the Greatness of the *Roman* Empire to succour and support her Friends, and not trust to the Assistance of Strangers.

A. D. 362. *He beautifies* Constantinople.

Before he left *Constantinople* he much improv'd and enlarg'd it by the Addition of many beautiful Buildings; for being the Place of his Nativity, he always express'd a great Affection for that City. He order'd a very convenient Harbour to be built in the Shape of a *Greek Sigma*, where those Ships that Traded thither from the South might ride in great Safety; and in the Gallery of his own Palace he furnish'd a Library with the choicest and most valuable Books he could procure, after which he remov'd Eastward in his Progress to *Antioch*.

Begins his Expedition.

XIII. Having cross'd over into *Asia* he pass'd through *Chalcedon* and *Libyssa* (where *Hannibal* was bury'd) and thence came to *Nicomedia*, a City, which the Care and Indulgence of former Princes had so much enlarg'd and beautify'd, and which an Earth-quake had now reduc'd to so miserable a Condition, that *Julian* could not behold it without Tears, having himself resided here in his Youth under

der the Care of *Eusebius* the Bishop, the great Patron of Arianism. After he had given Orders for the Repair of the Place he proceeded on in his Journey, and arriv'd at *Antioch* about the latter end of *July*. As he drew nigh the City, that beautiful Head of the East, he was met and receiv'd like some Deity, the People following him with their Vows and Acclamations, and gazing on him as on some Propitious Star newly risen in their Hemisphere, which high Opinion of him he improv'd at his first coming by several Examples of his great Patience and Humility. There was one *Thalassius*, who had been a bitter Enemy to his Brother *Gallus*, and was therefore in no degree of Favour with him. This some Persons, with whom *Thalassius* was then at Law, having observ'd, came in a great Body and accus'd him to the Emperor, complaining that *Thalassius*, who had the Insolence to be at Enmity with him, had by Violence depriv'd 'em of their just Rights. *Julian*, sensible that this was done designedly to ruin the Man, answer'd, That the Person of whom they complain'd, had, he confess'd, highly offended him, and that therefore they ought in good Manners to suspend their Claim 'till he had given him, who was so much their Superiour, a suitable Satisfaction; and at the same time commanded the Præfect, assisting him as the Custom was upon the Bench, not to hear their Cause 'till he was reconciled to *Thalassius*, which was done a short time after; for *Thalassius* renouncing the Christian Religion, and embracing that which was then most in Fashion, recover'd the Emperor's Favour, and was afterwards very intimate with him.

He arrives at Antioch.

An Instance of Justice.

Julian Winter'd, according to his first Intentions, at *Antioch*; where, averse to those Pleasures with which *Syria* too much abounded, he spent his time in hearing and determining Causes, with exquisite

Care

Care and Dexterity adjudging to every one his due. And tho' ſometimes, as our Hiſtorian confeſſes, he would ask improper and unſeaſonable Queſtions in a Debate, as what Religion this or that Party then at Law profeſs'd; yet no Reſpect to Religion, or any thing elſe made him deviate from Juſtice, or inclin'd him to a partial Determination; for being ſenſible of the Levity and Heat of his Temper, he permitted the Præfects and thoſe about him by ſeaſonable Hints to reſtrain his Impetuoſity, being pleas'd to be corrected by 'em, and aſham'd of his Faults when they had made him ſenſible of them.

Quarrels with the Inhabitants at Antioch.

Theſe things highly ingratiated him with the Inhabitants, but the good Underſtanding between 'em was of no long continuance; for whilſt he lay at *Antioch*, and obſerv'd the Multitudes of People that flock'd thither upon his own Account, and that of his Attendants, he concluded ſo great a Concourſe muſt in a ſhort time create a Dearneſs of Proviſions, which out of a Humour of Affectation and Popularity he had a great Ambition to prevent, by endeavouring to make things cheaper than they cou'd well bear to be, which being forc'd in an inconvenient way ſerves rather to create a Scarcity than prevent it; this the Corporation of *Antioch* repreſented to him, yet was he obſtinate to ſee it accompliſh'd; for the Merchants, who found themſelves oblig'd to Trade to their own Loſs, choſe rather to ſhut up their Ware-houſes than expoſe their Goods; from whence enſu'd a great want of Neceſſaries throughout the City, which highly provok'd the Inhabitants againſt him, and expos'd him to their ſevereſt Reflections. They call'd him *Victimarius*, by reaſon of his multitude of Sacrifices, to which he was ſo extravagantly addicted; *Cercops* or Dwarf, and Goats-Beard, becauſe he took great Delight in

a long picked Beard; at which he was ſo highly incens'd that he writ an Invective againſt 'em, which he call'd the *Antiochian* or *Beard-Hater*, in which he expos'd, with a deal of Virulence, the Vices and Defects of the Citizens, mixing with the Truth many things that were Foreign to it.

During his ſtay at *Antioch*, *Gaudentius*, who had been ſent by *Conſtantius* into *Africk* to ſecure that Country to him, and *Julian* another of *Conſtantius*'s Favourites were apprehended and put to Death, as was likewiſe *Artemius* Governor of *Egypt*, upon the importunate Application of the Citizens of *Alexandria*, who accus'd him of many enormous Crimes, if *Ammianus* may be credited; for ſeveral Chriſtian Writers affirm he dy'd a Martyr, that he loſt his Head by *Julian*'s Order, becauſe during *Conſtantius* his Reign he had deſtroy'd many of the Heathen Idols in *Egypt*. About the ſame time *George*, who had thruſt himſelf into the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria* when St. *Athanaſius* was expell'd, was kill'd by the Multitude. He was a great Champion for the *Arians*, who charg'd *Athanaſius* his Followers with his Death, and plac'd him in their Calender as a Martyr, from whence he crept inſenſibly into the *Latin* Church, by whom he is eſteem'd as a Saint and Martyr, challenging the 23d of *April* for his Feſtival. His Legend is ſtuff'd with many ridiculous Abſurdities, among which his fighting the Dragon on Horſeback is not the leaſt remarkable. If the Account the Authors of thoſe Times, both Chriſtian and Heathen, have left us of him be true, we have little reaſon to take him either for a Saint or Martyr.

George, *the* Arian *Biſhop.*

All this while *Julian* was very intent upon the War; he conſider'd how the *Perſians* had for the laſt Sixty Years miſerably haraſs'd the Eaſtern Provinces, and overthrown ſeveral Armies that were ſent to

reſtrain

reſtrain 'em; this kindl'd in him a Deſire of Revenge, which together with an Ambition of gracing his former Exploits with the glorious Sirname of *Parthicus*, made him very zealous in his Preparations, but he was in nothing ſo aſſiduous as his Sacrifices, compaſſing Sea and Land for Victims which bled upon the Altars. Sometimes he would offer an hundred Bulls at a time, innumerable Droves of other Beaſts, and white Birds procur'd at a vaſt Expence; ſo that almoſt every Soldier, and that almoſt every Day, was lead or born Home to his Quarters Drunk and Surfeited from the Temple wherein they feaſted, and that contrary to the Diſcipline he is ſaid to have eſtabliſh'd ſo carefully in the Army. And as his Superſtition encreas'd, ſo was there no end of Rites and Ceremonies in his Religion, which introduc'd an Expence that ſwell'd up to Sums vaſt and unuſual. Whoſoever pretended to the Art of Divination, which in his Predeceſſor's Days was eſteem'd a Capital Crime, was receiv'd with all imaginable Encouragement; and ſo far was he addicted to Practices of this Nature, that he reſolv'd to open the *Caſtilian* Fountain, conſecrated heretofore to *Apollo*, in whoſe Name the Devil iſſu'd out his Famous Oracles. This Fountain had been long ſince choak'd up by *Adrian*, who being here foretold that he ſhould one Day be Emperor, was unwilling any hereafter ſhould meet with the ſame Encouragement. But whilſt the Emperor was amuſing himſelf with theſe Superſtitious Vanities an Accident happen'd, from which he receiv'd no ſmall Diſturbance. On the 22d of *October* the ſpacious Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*, the Suburb of *Antioch*, built by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, took Fire, and was ſuddenly burnt to the Ground; this the Emperor charg'd upon the Chriſtians, and commanded the great Church at *Antioch*

The Temple of Apollo *burnt.*

tioch to be ſhut up; tho' *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives another Account of it.

However this aggravated the great Averſion he had to the Chriſtians, and made him more deſirous to ſuppreſs 'em. He knew Chriſtianity was ſuppoſed to ſucceed, and to be founded upon the Ruins of Judaiſm, and he thought if he could once reſtore the old Ceremonies and Sacrifices of that Religion, he ſhould raiſe a great Argument againſt the Truth and Progreſs of the former; the readieſt way to which was to rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, which had been long ſince deſtroyed by *Titus Veſpaſian*: And therefore he was reſolv'd to effect it, how great ſoever the Expence ſhould be, and committed the Care of it to *Alypius* an *Antiochian*, who had formerly commanded here in *Britain*; at the ſame time he encourag'd the *Jews* to be aſſiſting to ſo good a Work, deſiring 'em to pray the Soveraign of the Univerſe to proſper him in his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, releas'd 'em from ſeveral Impoſitions with which they had been charged, and promis'd 'em all the Happineſs they cou'd expect under his Adminiſtration. *Alypius* apply'd himſelf diligently to the Work, and was aſſiſted in it by the Governor of the Province; but on a ſuddain dreadful Balls of Fire broke out from the Ground, where the Foundations were laid, and conſuming the Works made the Place inacceſſible.

Julian endeavours to re-build the Temple at Jeruſalem, from which he is diverted by a Prodigy. Ammian. Marcell.

The ſame Year there happen'd an Earthquake at *Jeruſalem*, which raſed the Foundations of the former Temple, and over-turn'd ſeveral publick Buildings, under which a great multitude of *Jews* lay buried; and another at *Conſtantinople*, which tho' not ſo violent, endanger'd a great part of the City. Theſe Accidents, with ſeveral other unluckly Omens, as he term'd 'em, ſtrangely terrified the ſuperſtitious Emperor. *Felix* and *Julian*, two Officers of great

A. D. 363.

Au-

Authority, dy'd much about the ſame time; and the People, who uſually ſaluted him with the Titles of *Julianus Felix Auguſtus*, look'd on it as ominous that he who was *Auguſtus* ſhould be named in company with *Felix* and *Julian*, who were both dead. When he departed from *Antioch* a confus'd multitude of the Citizens attended him out of the City, wiſhing him a ſucceſsful Journey, and a triumphant Return, and pray'd him for the future to be more mild and gracious to them: But he ſtill nettled at their bitter and undutiful Reflections told 'em in great Anger, he would never viſit 'em again, but winter at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; which he accordingly did, for he was privately buried in the Suburbs of that City. As he enter'd into *Hierapolis* on the 5th of *March* fifty Soldiers were kill'd by a Fall of ſome Buildings, and a great many more hurt. Having paſs'd the *Euphrates* by a Bridge of Boats he came to *Batnæ* a Town of *Oſdruena*, where fifty Soldiers more were overwhelm'd with a Stack of Straw. From *Batnæ* he proceeded to *Carhæ*, an ancient Town and a Frontier toward *Aſſyria*, famous for the Death of *Craſſus* and the Overthrow of the *Roman* Army. Here he reſted a while to furniſh his Army with Proviſions, and ſacrificed to the Moon, the great Goddeſs of the Country; at whoſe Altar he is ſaid ſecretly to have deliver'd his Purple Military Coat to his Kinſman *Procopius*, bidding him reſolutely to ſeize on the Empire upon the firſt Intelligence of his Miſcarriage in *Parthia*. The late unlucky Omens had made him irreſolute and uneaſie, ſo that being troubled with ill Dreams he foreboded ſome Miſchief at hand, and both he and his Wizards declared that they muſt expect ſome ſignal Diſaſter the Day following, being the 19th of *March*, which brought nothing extraordinary with it notwithſtanding their Predictions; tho' it appear'd afterwards that the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus*

His Progreſs.

latinus was burnt the very ſame Night at *Rome*. Whilſt he was here employ'd in diſpoſing the March of his Army, he was inform'd that a Party of the Enemies Horſe had broken into the Empire, and were return'd with a conſiderable Booty. Provok'd at this he put a Deſign, he had before laid, in execution, and committed a Party of 30000 Men to *Procopius* and *Sebaſtian*, who had been Commander in *Egypt*, ordering 'em to keep a ſtrict Watch within *Tigris*, the better to prevent any ſudden Accident, and when they had join'd *Arſaces*, which they were to attempt, he commanded 'em to waſte *Chiliocomus*, that fruitful Tract of *Media*, and meet him if poſſible in *Aſſyria*. After this he began his March, and arriv'd the ſecond Day at *Callinicus*, where he celebrated the Feaſt of the Mother of the Gods. The Day following he directed his March by the River Side, where he was met by his Fleet, under the Conduct of *Conſtantianus* and *Lucillianus*. It conſiſted of a thouſand Veſſels of Burden, laden with Proviſions, Arms and Engines, beſides fifty Men of War, and as many deſign'd upon occaſion to make Bridges for the Army. From hence he proceeded to *Circuſium*, which he enter'd about the beginning of *April*. It was then a very ſtrong and neat Town, fortified heretofore by *Dioclesian* the better to reſtrain the *Perſians*, who by their frequent Incurſions into *Syria* did great Miſchief to the Provinces. Here whilſt *Julian* was buſied in paſſing his Army over the River *Avora*, which with the *Euphrates* encircled the Town in the manner of an Iſland, he receiv'd Letters from *Salluſt*, Præfect of *Gaul*, earneſtly preſſing him to deſiſt for the preſent from his intended Expedition, and not thruſt himſelf upon inevitable Deſtruction before the Divine Powers were fully pacified. But he, in contempt of this wholeſome Admonition, preſs'd on with greater Confidence;

dence; and having pafs'd his Army over, caus'd the Bridge to be broken down, to cut off from his Men all Hopes of a Retreat. At *Dura* a Lion of vaſt Bigneſs preſented it ſelf to the Army, who with a ſhower of Darts diſpatch'd it in a moment. This Spectacle rais'd his Hopes and redoubled his Courage; but upon what inſufficient Ground the Event will demonſtrate. His Philoſophers perſuaded him 'twas a lucky Omen, but the *Hetruſcan Aruſpices*, who were the better Artiſts, prov'd from their Books the contrary. The Day following a Soldier named *Jovian* was ſtruck dead by a Flaſh of Lightning, which confirm'd the *Hetruſcans* in their former Opinion, and made 'em adviſe him to quit the Country as dangerous and fatal, which the Philoſophers oppos'd with Arguments more agreeable to *Julian*'s Temper; who in a chearful Speech addreſs'd himſelf to the Army, telling 'em what mighty Actions had been perform'd by former Commanders as well againſt the *Perſians* as others, animated to it by their Affection to their Country, and aſſiſted by the Love and Reſolution of their Soldiers; that he was reſolv'd to imitate ſuch generous Examples, if they were willing to join with him in ſo glorious an Undertaking, wherein he had the Advantage of Juſtice on his ſide, in revenge of thoſe many Injuries the *Roman* Provinces had of late Years receiv'd from 'em. The Soldiers animated with this Diſcourſe reſolv'd to obey him chearfully, and appear worthy ſo Noble a Commander; who thereupon immediately enters the *Aſſyrian* Borders, where fearing an Ambuſcade he

His Order of Marching.

prudently divided his Army into four Bodies, appointing 1500 as a Forlorn, who marching ſometimes before, ſometimes on each ſide, were to prevent any ſuddain Irruption from the Enemy, and give warning upon all Occaſions. In the middle he placed the Foot, conſiſting of the main Strength of his

his Army, which he led himſelf; on the Right he order'd ſeveral Legions under the Conduct of *Nevita* to coaſt along the River *Euphrates*, and the Left Wing with ſome Troops of Horſe he committed to *Arintheus*, and *Horſmiſda* a *Perſian*, who having been injur'd by the King his Brother fled for Refuge to *Conſtantine* the Great, and after ſeveral Proofs of his great Fidelity was preferr'd to conſiderable Commands. They were to march through the Plains and Marſhes, whilſt *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor* and *Secundinus* brought up the Rear. And to ſtrike a greater Terror into the Enemy if they dar'd aſſault him, or view him at a Diſtance upon his March, he enlarged his Ranks, by which means the Front was almoſt ten Miles diſtant from the Rear, which made his Army appear much more numerous than it was. As for the Fleet, he order'd it to attend the Army as near as poſſibly it could, that upon occaſion they might afford each other a mutual Aſſiſtance.

In this manner they march'd to a Fort call'd *Anathan*, which ſurrender'd upon the firſt Summons, and was burnt by the Emperor's Order. Here they found a *Roman* Soldier, who when *Maximian* made Irruptions into theſe Parts had been left behind very ſick. Upon his Recovery, being then in the flower of his Age, he was marry'd to ſeveral Wives, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and was now grown extream old, and the Father of a numerous Iſſue. He with great Joy was brought to the Emperor, before whom he affirm'd that he knew and had formerly often foretold, that he ſhould live 'till he was near an hundred Years of Age, and be bury'd at length in the *Roman* Territories; which was confirm'd by the Teſtimony of ſeveral of his Acquaintance. The Day following the Army ſuffer'd much by the violence of a tempeſtuous Wind, as likewiſe by the breaking out of the River, which

whether it proceeded from a natural Cauſe, or was the Effect of ſome Stratagem in the Enemy, is uncertain. From hence they march'd without meeting any oppoſition to a Town call'd *Ozogardana*, which they took, the Inhabitants having abandon'd it upon the Approach of the Army. From hence *Horſmiſda* was ſent out to make Diſcoveries, and had like to have fallen into the Enemies Hands, who lay ready to entrap him; but the River ſwelling higher than uſual hinder'd their Paſſage, and being diſcover'd by a Party of *Roman* Soldiers they were forc'd to retire with ſome Loſs. The firſt Difficulty of any moment they met with was at *Piriſabora*, a Town ſtrongly fortify'd by Art and Nature, and no leſs ſecured by the Reſolution of the Inhabitants, who gave Ear to no Treaties 'till they had try'd their utmoſt in a very vigorous Defence, and found it impoſſible to maintain the Place. The taking this City, being the greateſt next to *Cteſiphon* in all *Aſſyria*, brought great Reputation to the Emperor's Arms, beſides the great quantity of Proviſions and Ammunition that were found in it prov'd very ſeaſonable to the Army, who began to ſtand in need of both.

After he had ſet Fire to the Town, and in a ſet Speech pacify'd the Army, that began to grow mutinous, he proceeded forward, and after a March of fourteen Miles came to a low Ground, which the Enemy, who had notice they would paſs that way, laid under Water, and thereby expos'd 'em to many Difficulties. But at length they arriv'd at *Maiozamalcha*, a large and well fortify'd Town, before which he encamp'd in order to beſiege it. He drew a double Line round it, and with his battering Engines broke down a Tower, and part of the Wall: Notwithſtanding which the Beſieg'd defended themſelves with great Galantry, truſting much to the

natural

natural Strength of the Place; 'till at length the Soldiers by means of a Mine got into the City, and put all they found to the Sword, except the Governor and some few of the principal Officers. The City was given up to the Soldiers, who first plunder'd and then burnt it.

After this they pass'd further, and arriv'd at two Forts, where *Victor*, who conducted the Forlorn, was oppos'd by the King of *Persia*'s Son, who at the Head of a strong Detachment, and attended by several Noblemen of the Country, disputed his Passage over the River; but when they saw the whole Body of the Army advancing they retir'd, and left the *Romans* Masters of a pleasant Country full of delightful Groves, and enrich'd with all sorts of Fruits. Proceeding a little farther the *Romans* lost part of their Baggage and Carriages: For whilst the Front of the Army was entertain'd by a Party of *Persians* who were sent on purpose to amuse them, another Party fell in upon the Rear, and surpriz'd them. *Julian* enrag'd at this drew on towards *Ctesiphon*, and as he was viewing a Fort which lay in his Passage thither, he rid too near the Walls, and they plied him so warmly with their Darts from above, that he was carry'd off with great Hazard of his Life. He was resolv'd to be reveng'd for this Insolence whatever it cost him, and for that Purpose laid close Siege to the Place, which they within defended with great Vigour, encouraged by Promises of a speedy Succour from the King, who lay with his Army not far off from them. But he thrusting himself forward into all Difficulties, and fighting in Person at the Head of his Men, who were encourag'd by his Example, and influenc'd by his Presence and Observation, obtain'd his Desire, and having burnt the Fort, allow'd his Army some time to refresh themselves. After which, through a Cut cleans'd

Julian *in great Danger.*

for that Purpoſe, he paſs'd his Fleet out of *Euphrates* into *Tigris*.

Hitherto Fortune for the moſt part ſeem'd to court and encourage him, but his Succeſs made him raſh and inconſiderate, and rais'd him in Imagination above all Difficulties to which he frequently expos'd himſelf and his Army, contrary to the repeated Advice and Petitions of his moſt experienc'd Officers. He totally gave himſelf up to the Direction of his own Fancies and improbable Chimæra's, ſuggeſted to him by his vaſt Ambition, which aim'd at nothing leſs than the entire Conqueſt of all *Perſia*. And tho' at a Council of War held near *Cteſiphon* he was adviſ'd to the contrary, he obſtinately perſiſted in his Reſolution of proceeding farther up into the Country, induced to it by the Encouragement of ſome Guides, who undertook to conduct him. And leſt the Enemy ſhould become Maſters of his Fleet, or elſe for that no leſs than 20000 Men were conſtantly employ'd to man and govern it, he order'd all his Ships to be ſet on Fire, except twelve ſmall Rates, which were to be taken in pieces, and convey'd over Land in Waggons to build Bridges with if there ſhould be occaſion. This was put in execution accordingly, notwithſtanding all the Arguments his Friends offer'd to oppoſe it, to which he was deaf 'till it was too late, and his Guides were forc'd by Torture to confeſs that they had offer'd him their Service with no other Deſign but to ruin him.

He grows obſtinate:

And burns his Fleet.

This unlucky Proceeding reduc'd the Army to the laſt Extremity, for now they had loſt all Means of a Retreat, and were cut off from all Opportunities of a Supply either of Men or Proviſions: And the *Perſians*, perceiving the Diſadvantages under which they labour'd, laid all the Country waſte before 'em, and inſulted 'em ſometimes in the Front, ſometimes

in

in the Flank, and at others in the Rear, and in a manner beſieg'd 'em. This extreamly diſpirited the *Roman* Army, which was very much weaken'd through the Inconveniences of the Country, and the Hardſhips to which they were expos'd; nor knew they what Courſe they were beſt to take in a ſtrange Country, depriv'd of all manner of Proviſions. After many Conſultations they reſolv'd at length to march towards *Corduena*, and on the 16th of *June* they ſet forward accordingly.

He engages with the Perſians, whom he defeats.

They had not march'd far before they were met by a ſtrong Body of *Perſians*, well provided in every reſpect, and commanded by *Merenes* General of the Horſe, accompany'd by two of the King's Sons, and a great number of the Nobility; here an obſtinate Fight began, which laſted for a conſiderable time, 'till the *Perſians*, over-power'd by the *Roman* Legions, gave Ground, and retir'd in the moſt orderly manner they could. The *Romans* remain'd Maſters of the Field, but found little Satisfaction in a Victory, which could not relieve their Wants in a Place where no Proviſions were to be had, the Corn, and Graſs, and every thing elſe proper for the Nouriſhment of Man or Horſe being burnt up by the Enemy.

Both ſides had agreed to a Truce for three Days, which time was employ'd in burying the Dead, and refreſhing their Bodies tir'd with exceſſive Heat and Fatigues of the Battel. *Julian* all this while labour'd under great Perplexities, for he found the *Perſians* reſolv'd to oppoſe his March, and attempt all manner of ways to diſtreſs him, without coming to a formal Engagement. The Night before his Death, after a ſhort and troubleſome Sleep, he roſe, as his Cuſtom was, to Read or Write, and in the dead of Night he beheld the Publick Genius, which is ſaid to have appear'd to him once before

upon his being declar'd Emperor in *Gaul*, to move in a melancholy dejected Posture before him, and with a Countenance full of Sorrow forsake him. This suddain unexpected Accident surpriz'd him for the present, but being above the Weakness of Fear, he resign'd all, saith my Author, to the Determination of Providence; and rising early to his Devotions he saw an Exhalation shooting through the Skies, which having traversʃ'd a good part of the Air vanish'd in a Moment. This he violently suspected to be the Star of *Mars*, who not long since had rejected his many Sacrifices, and was now come in a menacing manner to tell him how little he was to expect from him. Hereupon he consulted his *Hetrurian Augurs*, who told him he was by that Omen advis'd to abstain from fighting; and when they perceiv'd that in spite of this their Interpretation he was resolv'd to proceed, they intreated him to defer his March but for a few Hours, to which he gave so little heed, that as soon as it was Light he order'd his Army to Decamp. The *Persians*, who made the best of every Advantage, sometimes assaulted him upon the Flank, and sometimes fell in upon the Rear, which occasion'd several Encounters between 'em, in all which the Emperor behav'd himself with an unexampled Bravery; but at length being too eager in Pursuit of the *Persians*, who now began to give Ground, a Horse-man's Javelin pierc'd through his Arm into his Side, from whence or by whom directed no one knew, with the Pain of which he sunk down upon the Neck of his Horse, and was with all speed convey'd into his Tent; where observing those about him to be dejected and sorrowful, he told 'em, "He was now call'd "upon to pay the Debt of Nature, which he did "with a willing and chearful Mind, being taught "by Philosophy how much happier the State of "the

He is wounded.

"the Soul is than that of the Body, upon which "Conſideration he embrac'd Death as the greateſt "Bleſſing, which exempted him from thoſe Dan- "gers to which the Neceſſity of his Affairs muſt "daily expoſe him, to the great Hazard of his "Virtue and Reputation. That having liv'd at firſt "in a private, and afterwards in an exalted State, "he had ſo behav'd himſelf in both as to repent of "no Action throughout his whole Life. That "he had great reaſon to thank Divine Providence, "for that he fell not by the Hand of Conſpirators, "nor languiſh'd under a Diſeaſe, or ſuffer'd Death "as a Criminal, but that he made a glorious Paſſage "out of the World with his Honours freſh and "blooming about him. That he who is fond of "Life when he ought to Die, is as great a Coward "as he who deſires Death when he ought to Live. "That he declin'd naming a Succeſſor, leſt through "Ignorance he ſhould paſs by a worthy Perſon, or "in naming one fitly qualify'd he ſhould expoſe "him to Danger upon the preference of another after "his Death, but like a dutiful Son to the Common- "wealth he wiſh'd her a worthy Governor to ſuc- "ceed him.

After this, and a ſhort Diſcourſe with the Philoſophers, *Maximus* and *Priſcus*, concerning the Sublimity of the Soul, the Wound began to gape, and the Tumour of the Veſſel intercepted his Breath; then calling for a Glaſs of cold Water, which he drank up, he expir'd about Midnight. *Theodoret*, and moſt Chriſtian Writers who have written of him, ſay, when firſt he was wounded he fill'd his Hand with Blood iſſuing from the Wound, and threw it up into the Air with this dreadful Blaſphemy, *Thou haſt Conquer'd, O* Galilean; tho' others maintain it was the Sun againſt which he thus threw up his Blood, becauſe he was God of the

He Dies of his Wound.

Perſians, and was then come to their Succour againſt him; and being, according to the Aſtrologers, Lord of his Aſcendant when he was Born, he had not taken due care to protect him. Sometime before his Death, *Libanius* the Sophiſt is ſaid to have ask'd a Chriſtian School-maſter at *Antioch*, by way of Deriſion, *What he thought the Carpenter's Son was then a doing?* To whom he reply'd, *Know thou Wretch, that that God who made both Heaven and Earth, and whom in Contempt thou call'ſt the Carpenter's Son, is preparing a Coffin for thy Diſciple* Julian.

His Character.

As to his Character, even our Chriſtian Writers, who can't be expected inclinable to flatter him, own he enrich'd the Empire with a great many excellent Qualities, that he was Valiant, Chaſte, Prudent, Patient of Labour, a great Lover of Learned Men, being himſelf Learn'd and Eloquent. His Exploits againſt the *Germans* were extraordinary, conſidering his Youth and his Education, which had prepar'd him more to the Gown than the Sword; on the other Hand his beſt Friends allow him to have been Superſtitious to the higheſt Degree, hot, talkative and inconſiderate, that he was very much given to Vain-glory and Oſtentation, that in many things he was guided more by his own Humour than the Advice of his ableſt Counſellors. Theſe Defects grew upon him with his Years, which Conſideration has made ſome conceive that he ow'd the extent of his Fame to the ſhortneſs of his Life, and that had he liv'd longer, Time and Temptation might poſſibly have expos'd him to ſuch Infirmities as would have ſully'd the Reputation acquir'd in his Youth. *Julian* dy'd on the 26th of *June*, in the Second Year of his Reign, and Two and thirtieth of his Age, in his fourth Conſulate, which he bore with *Salluſt*, *A. D.* 363.

XV. Thus

XV. Thus fell *Julian* in the Flower of his Age, and full Purſuit of his mighty Deſigns, which as none but a Genius like his, bold and impetuous, could ever have ſuggeſted; ſo now there wanted an equal Reſolution to purſue and direct 'em. In him the *Conſtantine* Family was extinct, under whoſe Government the Imperial Power ſeem'd ſtill to retain its native Influence and Vigour. Juſtice was duly adminiſter'd, and the Laws of the Empire regularly obſerv'd throughout the Provinces; and tho' in thoſe Times we meet with frequent Uſurpations, they ſerv'd rather to awaken than impair the Supream Authority; as all the Motions and Irruptions occaſion'd by the barbarous Nations ſeem deſign'd to make a fatal Experience of the Strength of the Empire, rather than to inſult or weaken it. But after this the *Roman* Eagle, that with extended Wings us'd to defend thoſe Nations that fled to her for her Friendſhip and Protection, ſicken'd as with Age, and lay expos'd to the Attempts of every Enemy that dar'd Aſſault her.

The Sorrow the Army conceiv'd at *Julian*'s Death is unexpreſſible: They were in a ſtrange Country far from home, with a provok'd Enemy round about 'em, without a Head to direct, command and provide for 'em. The Common Soldiers were ready to Mutiny, and the Officers at Variance about a Succeſſor. At laſt they unanimouſly pitch'd upon *Salluſt* the Præfect, who being a Man of great Worth, and long Experience in Military Affairs, was acceptable to all Parties. But he excuſing himſelf upon the Account of his Age, which had brought many Infirmities upon him, they were forc'd to make a new Election; and being hurry'd by the Diſtraction of their Affairs, and imminent Dangers to which they were expos'd, the Choice

fell

Jovian *Elected.*

fell upon *Jovian*, Son of *Varronian*, who from an Eminent Poſt in the Army, where he had behav'd himſelf like a Brave Commander, was lately retir'd to a private Life. *Jovian* was immediately ſaluted by his Electors with the Acclamation of *Jovianus Auguſtus*, which a great part of the Army extending four Miles in length miſtook, and conceiving *Julian* to be miraculouſly recover'd, out of an ill grounded Hope, join'd in the common Cry, 'till upon a Diſcovery of their Miſtake they turn'd their Joy into Tears and Lamentations. As ſoon as *Jovian* was advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, an Officer in the Army, who had ſerv'd formerly under his Father, and had carry'd himſelf with much Inſolence towards him, being afraid of his Son, who had it now in his Power to revenge his Father's Quarrel, deſerted and fled over to the *Perſians*; and being admitted into the King's Preſence, acquainted him with the Death of *Julian*, and that the Army had in a tumultuous manner made Choice of *Jovian*, a mean ſpirited Man, for his Succeſſor. This News was highly acceptable to the *Perſian* King, who thereupon prepar'd his Men to fall vigorouſly upon the Rear of the *Roman* Army, who upon an Encouragement receiv'd from the Entrails of Beaſts, were iſſuing out of their Camp, when they were attack'd by the *Perſians* with their Elephants plac'd in the Front. After a reſolute Engagement on both ſides, which laſted for ſome time, the *Perſians* gave Ground, leaving two of their Elephants, and a great number of Men dead upon the Place. The *Romans* loſt three Principal Officers, and ſome Soldiers, and after they had given 'em as good a Burial as the Exigency of their Affairs would allow of, they proceeded to a Caſtle call'd *Suma*. Here they encamp'd the next Day, in the beſt manner they could, drawing

a Line round their Camp for their better Defence; but were however infeſted by the Enemy at a diſtance, a Party of whoſe Horſe had the Confidence to break into the Camp, and had almoſt reach'd the Emperor's Tent, but were at laſt repulſed with a very great loſs. The Night following they diſlodg'd, and came to *Charcha*, from whence they remov'd to *Dura*, where they were forc'd to continue four Days through the Obſtinacy of the *Perſians*, who when ever they were in Motion preſs'd hard upon their Rear, but when they fac'd about to give 'em Battel retreated, and by this means very much retarded them in their March. Here they were informed by ſome, who pretended to be more knowing than the reſt, that they were not now far from the *Roman* Borders, and therefore the whole Army demanded, in a peremptory manner, that they might be permitted to paſs over the *Tigris*, which the Emperor and the Chief Officers very prudently oppos'd, aſſuring 'em the River at that Seaſon of the Year was always ſwoln higher than uſual, that the greateſt part of 'em were ignorant of Swimming, and that the Enemy was ready on the other ſide to reward ſuch deſperate Adventures with Death. But they were impatient of Contradiction, and inſiſted with great Inſolence upon their Demands, which they mingl'd with Menaces, and thereby forc'd the Emperor in ſome meaſure to comply. He order'd the *Germans* and the *Gauls* to take the River firſt, hoping, if they periſh'd in the Attempt, the reſt would learn to be more tractable, and if they got ſafe a Shore the whole Army might venture after 'em with more Confidence. Hereupon ſome of the greateſt Artiſts among 'em, who from their Childhood had learnt to Swim over vaſt Rivers in their own Country, were alotted out for this Expedition; they taking the Advantage of the Night reach'd the oppoſite

A Mutiny in the Army.

poſite Shore ſooner than was imagin'd, and having kill'd the *Perſians* that were plac'd there for a Guard, by a Signal gave the Army notice of their Succeſs, who were ſo impatient to follow 'em, that they would hardly allow time for the making a Bridge, which ſome had undertaken to compoſe of Bladders for their more convenient Tranſportation.

Whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in this extravagant Project, the King of *Perſia*, who during his Abſence, and now upon his Return to his Army, had by repeated Meſſengers been inform'd of the deſperate Valour of the *Romans*, who inſtead of being diſpirited at the loſs of *Julian*, were grown more hardy by continual Labours and Dangers, and had kill'd him a great many brave Men, and an unuſual number of Elephants, began to liſten to Thoughts of an Accommodation. He was unwilling to enrage 'em too much, not knowing how far the Thirſt of Revenge, and Fury of Deſpair might thruſt 'em. He knew freſh Supplies might be rais'd out of the Neighbouring Provinces, and that an Army lay ready in *Meſopotamia* little inferior to this. He was ſenſible how his own Men were continually haraſs'd, his Country waſted, the Strength of his Army impair'd, and his Subjects in general deſirous of a Peace. The Author of the *Alexandrine* Chronicle ſaith, the firſt Overtures of Peace were made by him before he had heard of *Julian*'s Death. Others, that he made mention of it at firſt only to try the Temper of the *Roman* Army, and the Inclinations of their new Prince; and when he found 'em both a like eagerly deſirous of a Peace, he prolong'd the Negotiations from time to time, that the *Romans*, whilſt they ſtood expecting the Reſult of the Treaty, might ſpend the ſmall Remainder of their Proviſions, and ſo be forc'd through Famine to comply with his Exorbi-

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tant Demands. This is not unlikely, if we consider the Condition the *Romän* Army was then in, and the Articles upon which the Peace was concluded. The Famine rag'd so dismally in their Camp, that they were ready to end their Days by the Sword, rather than wait a painful lingring Death. And *Sapor*, who pretended he permitted the Remnant of *Julian*'s Army to retreat out of mere Pity, made a Demand of no less than five Provinces, together with fifteen Castles, besides *Nisibis*, *Singara*, and *Castra Maurorum*, a Fort of very great Consequence, before he wou'd hearken to any Terms of Accommodation. This the Emperor was forc'd shamefully to condescend to by a Company of Flatterers, who terrify'd him with the Name of *Procopius*, as if he hearing of *Julian*'s Death would take the Advantage of the Army under his Command, and set up for himself, unless *Jovian* speedily return'd to prevent him. Which indeed was no unlikely Presumption, and was therefore more readily listen'd to by the Emperor, who with much ado prevail'd with the King of *Persia* to permit the Inhabitants of *Nisibis* and *Singara* to be remov'd into the *Roman* Territories; and shamefully engag'd himself never to assist *Arsaces* King *Armenia* against the *Persians*, tho' *Arsaces* was a Christian, and a faithful Friend to the Empire. By which Means *Sapor* had his Revenge upon *Arsaces*, who at the Emperor's Instance had wasted *Chiliocomus*, for he took him Prisoner some time after, and the *Parthians* seiz'd on the greatest Part of *Armenia* bordering on the *Medes*, together with *Artaxata*. The Peace being concluded, Hostages were exchanged on both Sides, for Performance of Conditions; On the *Roman* Part, *Nevitta*, *Victor*, and *Mellobandes*; on the *Persian*, *Binefes*, and three other of the Principal among the Nobility.

A Peace concluded.

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The Concluſion of this Peace, which was to laſt for thirty Years, was as remarkable a Paſſage as any of thoſe Times, and occaſion'd various Reflections upon it, manag'd variouſly according to the different Temper of thoſe Writers who have written of it. All allow it to have been ſhameful and ignominious, foraſmuch as the *Romans*, tho' they often receiv'd notable Defeats, could never be prevail'd with to relinquiſh any of their Territories before. Some ſay *Jovian* ought not to have ſubmitted to it; others, that he did well in accepting of it, but was bound to obſerve it no longer than 'till he found himſelf in a capacity of breaking it. *Ammianus* ſaith, that during the Treaty he might eaſily have marched into *Corduena* a fertile Country within his own Dominions, and diſtant but an hundred Miles from the Place where the Army lay. If they cou'd have made ſo ſafe a Retreat without a Truce they would certainly have done it, and not have hazarded themſelves in that dangerous Paſſage over the River, an account of which we have in expreſs Words from him. *Julian*, who to give every one his due had by his obſtinate Proceedings made the Retreat neceſſary, is condemn'd by him and ſeveral other Authors for burning his Ships, and thereby cutting off all ſecurity of a Return into his own Dominions; which wou'd not have been, had the Retreat been now ſo eaſie and poſſible as he would have it. The Army, as we ſhall find hereafter, arriv'd at *Niſibis* with great Toil and Labour after the Concluſion of the Peace, which permitted 'em to return at their eaſe: How then muſt they have broke through thoſe Multitudes of *Perſians* which ſurrounded 'em on every ſide before the Concluſion of the Treaty? And yet did they not appear half ſo terrible as the Famine. Theſe Conſiderations ſeem to make the Truce neceſſary, which was the only Means the Emperor had left

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to preſerve the Remainder of the Army: And as he was forc'd to conclude it for the Safety of his Men, ſo was he oblig'd by his own Honour after it was concluded to obſerve it, and not have made an ignominious Breach of Faith, and violated the Laws of Nations. He was not acquainted with that Maxim ſo prevalent in our Days with the Moſt Chriſtian Princes, That no Treaties, how ſolemnly ſoever enter'd into and religiouſly ratify'd, ought to be in force, when they grow diſadvantageous in the Obſervance, and are a Curb to any aſpiring ambitious Deſigns.

The Peace being confirm'd on both ſides, the *Romans* paſs'd the River and came by long Marches to *Hatra*, an old Town in the Middle of the Deſart: Here being inform'd that they were to march for ſeventy Miles together through a dry barren Country, where no Water was to be had but ſuch as was ſalt or ſtunk, nor any thing to feed on but bitter unwholeſome Herbs, the Emperor took care to provide the Army with ſweet Water, and order'd ſome Camels to be kill'd, to make the beſt Proviſion they cou'd. Which being done they proſecuted their Retreat, and after a tireſome dangerous March of ſix Days they arriv'd at *Ur* a *Perſian* Fortreſs, where *Caſſianus* Governor of *Meſopotamia*, and *Mauritius* a Tribune, who had been ſent before for that Purpoſe, met 'em with ſuch Proviſions as the Frugality of the Army commanded by *Procopius* and *Sebaſtian* had been able to ſpare 'em. From hence the Emperor diſpatch'd ſome in whom he could moſt confide into the Weſt, there to improve and ſtrengthen his Intereſt the beſt they cou'd, ſending ſecret Commiſſions by 'em, by vertue of which he remov'd ſome whom he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſubſtituted others in their Places, who he judged would be more faithful to him, He order'd theſe his Agents

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to report every thing to the beſt Advantage, to ſound how the Generality of the People approv'd of his Advancement, and in what degree they ſtood affected to him; after which they were ſpeedily to return with the beſt Intelligence they could get, that the Emperor might take ſuch meaſures in his Council, as ſhould be judg'd moſt proper for his Service. Tho' theſe Meſſengers ſet forward with all Expedition, Fame had got the ſtart of 'em, and had alarm'd the Provinces with a melancholy Account of the *Perſian* Affairs; eſpecially they at *Niſibis* receiv'd it with the greateſt Confuſion, when they were inform'd their City was to be ſurrender'd up to *Sapor*, from whom they cou'd expect no Mercy, having ſo often withſtood him with ſo much Reſolution, and deſtroy'd ſo many of his Men.

In the mean time the Army was again in want of all manner of Proviſions, which was once more ſupply'd with the Fleſh of their Carriage-Beaſts, the only Means left to ſave that of one another, with ſo much Fury did the Famine rage among 'em. At *Thilſaphata*, *Procopius* and the general Officers of his Army came to wait upon the Emperor, who receiv'd 'em very graciouſly. From thence they march'd on to *Niſibis*, in ſight of which when they were arriv'd, they pitch'd their Tents without the City. The Emperor, tho' earneſtly importun'd by the Inhabitants to lodge in the Palace, as his Predeceſſors uſed to do, refus'd it with great Obſtinacy, out of Shame to ſuffer a City ſo ſtrong and impregnable to be deliver'd up to an enraged Enemy, whilſt he was reſiding in it. The next Day *Bineſes*, according to his Maſter's Orders, and in purſuance of the Conditions of Peace, demanded the City to be deliver'd up to him, and accordingly enter'd by the Emperor's Permiſſion, and took Poſſeſſion of it in the King of *Perſia*'s Name. He had no ſooner ſeiz'd on the

the Place, but by a Signal from the Caſtle he commanded the Citizens to quit their Habitations; who in a moſt paſſionate manner earneſtly beſought the Emperor not to be forc'd into foreign Parts, but have liberty to defend the Place of their Nativity, which they undertook to do without putting the Publick to any Charge in their Aſſiſtance, affirming they were well acquainted with the Fatigues of a Siege, and knew how to withſtand the enraged *Perſians*. But all this was to no purpoſe, the Emperor inſiſting ſtill upon his Promiſe, and how perjur'd he muſt be if he broke it.

Hereupon *Sabinus*, an eminent Man in the Town, ſaid boldly, That *Conſtantius*, in the whole Courſe of his Wars againſt the *Perſians*, tho' once driven to ſuch great Straits in his Flight, as to ſatisfie his Hunger with a Cruſt of Bread, which he had begg'd from an old Woman, yet to his dying Day would not ſuffer a Foot of his Territories to be alienated; but *Jovian*, before he was ſcarce ſaluted Emperor, tore from the Empire the very Bulwark of his Provinces, which had hitherto been protected by the vigorous oppoſition of this Town. But when all was to no purpoſe, the Emperor ſtill urging the Sanctity of his Oath, and they had preſented him with a Crown, which after much Entreaty he was prevail'd upon to accept of, one *Sylvanus* an Advocate with great Confidence cry'd out, *So, O* Emperor, *may'ſt thou be crown'd by the reſt of the Cities.*

This ſo highly incens'd him, that he ſtrictly commanded the Town to be evacuated within three days, and order'd a Party of Soldiers to drive 'em out, who threaten'd thoſe that were the moſt unwilling to kill 'em if they loiter'd. The Sun never beheld a more melancholy Sight than was then at *Niſibis*, every Corner of the City was fill'd with Groans and Lamentations, in which all Ages and Conditions

join'd; the Walls and Streets were crowded with miſerable Multitudes, that wept and exclaim'd as if they were then to be deliver'd into the Hands of Death, and were all to be Executioners to each other; the helpleſs Women embrac'd the Doors and Poſts of the Houſes at their Farewel, with as much real Paſſion, as if they were going to be torn from what was deareſt to 'em, their Husbands or their Children, who ſtood by and help'd to fill up that meaſure of Grief in which they had ſo large a ſhare; whilſt the Men, who at the Expence of their Lives had ſo often defended the Walls, and repell'd the Enemy, curs'd a Peace, that was now depriving 'em of that which their Valour had made good againſt the moſt violent Attacks of a bloody and obſtinate War. The Roads were fill'd with theſe deſolate Exiles, loaden with what they could moſt conveniently bear away themſelves, but being expell'd in haſte, and for want of the Convenience of Carriages, they left ſeveral Things more in Quantity and of greater Value behind 'em. The greateſt Part of 'em in this forlorn Condition were conducted to *Amida*, the Suburbs of which City were given them by the Emperor to inhabit; the reſt were diſpers'd into other Parts, where ſuch Care as the Neceſſity of the Publick Affairs would admit of, was taken for 'em.

After this *Procopius* was ſent to attend *Julian*'s Corps to *Tarſus*, in the Suburbs of which City he was bury'd, according to the Orders he had given in his Life-time. After the Funeral Ceremonies were over *Procopius* privately withdrew from *Tarſus*, and tho' diligent Enquiry was made in all Parts for him, he never could be heard of, 'till he appear'd publickly at *Conſtantinople* a long time after, where he aſſum'd the Imperial Purple, as ſhall be ſhown in its proper Place.

From

From *Niſibis* the Emperor went directly to *Antioch*, where ſeveral Prodigies are ſaid to appear, denouncing the Wrath of Heaven, which haſten'd *Jovian*'s Departure from thence, ſo that he ſpared neither Man nor Beaſt 'till he arriv'd at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; at which Place the Meſſengers he had before diſpatch'd into the Weſt met him, and were ſome of 'em ſent back with freſh Inſtructions, for the better ſettlement of Affairs in thoſe Parts. From *Tarſus* he proceeded on to *Ancyra*, where in as ſolemn a manner as the Time would permit, he enter'd into the Conſulſhip, aſſuming for Collegue his Son *Varronian*, a very Infant, who by his crying and ſtruggling, not ſuffering himſelf to be carry'd in the Conſular Chair, as Cuſtom requir'd, ſeem'd to portend what happen'd in a very ſhort time after. For proceeding on towards *Conſtantinople* he arriv'd at *Badaſtana*, a Town ſituate upon the Borders of *Bithynia* and *Galatia*, where he was found dead in the Night. His Death gave occaſion to many Conjectures; ſome ſay he was ſtifled by the Dampneſs of his Chamber, which had been newly plaiſter'd; others, that he was choak'd by the Vapours of Charcoal, plac'd there to dry the Room; and ſome impute his ſuddain Death to a Surfeit. *Zonaras* ſaith he was poiſon'd with Muſhrooms, and *Ammianus* himſelf ſeems to be of Opinion, that he came to a violent End, when he compares the Manner of his Death to that of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who according to *Cicero* was murder'd by Night in his Bed.

Ammian. A. D. 364. Jovian *Dies.*

He is ſaid in many things to have imitated *Conſtantius*; for he uſually diſpatch'd Buſineſs after Dinner, and lov'd to diſcourſe merrily with thoſe about him. He was a great Friend to the Chriſtian Religion, protecting the Chriſtians from the Malice of the Heathens, and defending the Orthodox Believers againſt the *Arian* Hereticks; tho' he often

His Character.

declar'd he hated all Diſputes, and had a great Eſteem for thoſe who promoted a Union in the Church. He had ſo great a Veneration for *Athanaſius*, that he deſir'd him to ſend him a Form of Faith, which as a Rule might preſerve him from falling into Error: Whereupon *Athanaſius* ſummoned a Synod at *Alexandria*, where they unanimouſly agreed upon a Creed, conformable to that of *Nice*, to which they all ſubſcribed, and tranſmitted it to the Emperor. He was ſometimes magnificent, tolerably well learn'd, affable and courteous. By the few Officers he preferr'd during his ſhort Reign, we may judge how careful he would have been in his Promotions, had he lived longer. The unlucky Peace he made with the *Perſians*, is the only Inſtance the Writers of that Age have given us of his Cowardice or Imprudence, in other Reſpects he behav'd himſelf like a Man of Courage and Experience. He was a great Eater, and given much to Wine and Women, which Faults *Ammianus* thinks the ſenſe of his high Condition would in time have corrected. His Father is ſaid to have foreſeen in a Dream his Son's future Advancement, which he diſcover'd to two of his intimate Friends; adding, that he himſelf ſhould in time attain the Honour of the Conſulate. In this laſt he was deceiv'd, for he heard indeed of his Son's exalted Fortune, but never liv'd to ſee him afterwards, or enjoy the Honour the Emperor had deſign'd him, which was therefore transferr'd to his Grandſon *Verronianus*, as we obſerv'd before. *Jovian* dy'd on the 17th of *February*, in the 33d Year of his Age, after he had Reign'd ſeven Months and twenty Days, *A. D.* 364.

XVI. The Body of the deceas'd Emperor being prepar'd with the accuſtomed Rites, was in a ſolemn Manner convey'd to *Conſtantinople*, there to be Interr'd

terr'd with his Predeceſſors. His Reign had been ſo very ſhort, and conſequently his Subjects ſo little acquainted either with his Virtues or Vices, that they had no reaſon to lament much, or rejoice at his Death. The Army ſometime after diſlodg'd from *Badaſtana*, and proceeded to *Nice*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, where all the Officers, both Civil and Military, enter'd into a ſerious Debate about the Election of a new Prince, ſome of 'em not deſpairing of that high Dignity themſelves. The firſt that was whiſper'd, rather than nam'd, was *Equitius* a Tribune, but he being of a ſurly ruſtick Temper was immediately rejected. Then was *Januarius*, a Relation of *Jovian*'s, propos'd by a few, but they who diſapprov'd of the Election had a ready Reaſon for it, for he being then Commander in *Illyria* was too far off. At length *Valentinian*, a Tribune in the Army, was by Univerſal Conſent choſen Emperor; he was at that time at *Ancyra*, where he had been left with Orders to follow *Jovian*. Immediately upon the Election Meſſengers were diſpatch'd away for him, but being at ſuch a diſtance there was an *Interregnum* for ten Days together. However *Equitius* and *Leo* had Orders from the reſt of the Officers to take care of his Intereſt 'till his Arrival, and prevent any Innovations in the Army. *Valentinian* was Born at *Cibale* in *Pannonia*, and was Sirnam'd *Funacius*, for that Five Soldiers together were not able to wreſt a Rope from him, which he held in his Hand. He arriv'd at *Nice* ſo ſoon as he was inform'd of his Advancement, but would not appear abroad the Day after his Arrival, becauſe it was the *Biſſextile*, a Day for the moſt part unlucky to the *Romans*, and therefore they generally declin'd ent'ring on any great Buſineſs upon it. Towards the Evening Orders were given by the Advice of *Salluſt* the Præfect, that

Valentinian *choſen Emperor.*

no Perſon whatſoever of the firſt Rank, or who was ſuſpected to aim at the Empire, ſhould on Pain of Death be ſeen abroad the next Morning; but as ſoon as it was Light the whole Army was drawn up together, and *Valentinian* adorn'd with the Imperial Robes, and ſaluted *Auguſtus*, aſcended the Tribunal, from whence as he was going to addreſs himſelf in a Speech to the Army, and ſtretch'd forth his Hand the better to gain their Attention, the ordinary Soldiers requir'd him in Seditious Murmurs to chuſe a Collegue. This at firſt was thought to have been done at the Inſtigation of ſome who had been defeated in their Pretentions to the Empire; but the Noiſe continuing, and the Soldiers appearing more Bold and Violent, there was great reaſon to apprehend an Univerſal Tumult; which *Valentinian* having greater Motives than any elſe to fear, and if poſſible to prevent, with Looks full of Authority he again extended his Hand, boldly reprov'd thoſe who appear'd the moſt forward and ſeditious, and then without any Interruption deliver'd himſelf in theſe Terms to the Army.

His Speech to the Army.

"Some Days ſince it was in your Power to chuſe "whom you thought fit to be your Emperor, but "ſince your Knowledge of me, and my Method "of Life has encourag'd you to raiſe me up to "that high Dignity, I muſt tell you, you have "paſs'd the Power out of your own Hands; nor "are you to preſcribe Laws to your Soveraign: 'Tis "now my Buſineſs to Command, and your Duty "to Obey. I know as well as you, that the State "of Affairs, and the Condition of the Empire re-"quires an Aſſociate, whom, as ſoon as I find it "convenient, I intend to chuſe and nominate. In "the mean time you may expect to find me a "tender and careful Prince, as I ſhall expect from "you all Offices of Submiſſion and Obedience; come

"there-

"therefore and receive the Donative, which Cu-
"ſtom and my Love towards you has made your
"due.

By this reſolute Speech *Valentinian* gain'd his Ends upon the whole Army, not one among 'em dar'd appear ſo hardy as to oppoſe a Man who ſeem'd Born to Command; with a general Acclamation they ſaluted him *Auguſtus*, and conducted him in Royal Pomp to the Imperial Palace, where he ſummon'd together the general Officers, reſolving to be guided by ſuch Councils as appear'd moſt beneficial to the Empire, and not be influenc'd by ſuch as were more agreeable to himſelf. When they were all met he ask'd 'em whom they thought fitteſt to be his Aſſociate in the Empire. After a general Silence for ſome time, *Dagalaiphus* boldly anſwer'd, *If, Sir, you are partial to your own Family, you will make Choice of your Brother; but if you have any Regard to the Publick Good, you will fix on ſome other.* *Valentinian* was inwardly nettled at the Liberty of this Speech, however he conceal'd his Reſentments, and ſet out for *Nicomedia*, which he enter'd on the Firſt of *March*; from thence he remov'd to *Conſtantinople*, where reflecting on the Weight of his Affairs, and how unable he was to ſuſtain ſo vaſt a Burden without an Aſſiſtant, he reſolv'd no longer to defer it; ſo on the Firſt of *March*, without any Oppoſition, he declar'd his Brother *Valens Auguſtus*, who was receiv'd as ſuch with an Univerſal Approbation. Some time after this both Emperors were ſeiz'd with a violent Feavour, which according to *Ammianus* made 'em apprehend ſome foul Play, as if they had been bewitch'd by *Julian*'s Friends; but upon a diligent Enquiry the thing came to nothing, for they could not diſcover the leaſt Grounds for ſuch a Suſpicion.

Makes his Brother his Aſſociate in the Empire.

They were ſcarce recover'd before the whole Empire was in a manner alarm'd with a general Invaſion from the barbarous Nations; the *Germans* were in a cruel manner waſting *Gaul* and *Rhætia*; the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*, *Pannonia*; the *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons* miſerably infeſted *Britain*; the *Moors* grew more Outragious in *Africk* than ever, and the *Goths* as cruelly behav'd themſelves in *Thrace*; nor could the late Peace reſtrain the King of *Perſia*, who again laid Claim to *Armenia*, pretending the Truce was made with *Jovian*, whoſe Death unbound his Hands, and left him at Liberty to recover what he ſaid had formerly been wreſted from his Predeceſſors.

The two Emperors continu'd Thirty Days at *Conſtantinople*, where they provided for the better Victualling that City and *Rome*, by regulating the Officers who had the Management of the publick Corn. From thence, when the Winter was over, they paſs'd through *Thrace* to *Naiſſus*, in the Suburbs of which, diſtant three Miles from the City, and call'd *Mediana*, being upon the Point of ſeparating, they made a Partition of their Officers. *Valentinian* made Choice of *Jovinus* and *Dagalaiphus*. *Victor*, *Arintheus* and *Seronianus* were to attend *Valens* into the Eaſt, and at *Sirmium* they parted, *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Conſtantinople*; upon their Arrival at which Cities they both took
A. D. 365. the Conſular Ornaments. All this Year the Empire was grievouſly burden'd and inſulted. The *German* Embaſſadors, ſent as the Cuſtom was once a Year to Court, were roughly treated by *Urſatius*, who by his Office was to receive and anſwer all Embaſſadors, and being an obſtinate angry Man ſent them back with leſs Preſents than were uſually given; which upon their Return their Principals threw away in Indignation, and provok'd by the Uſage

Uſage of their Embaſſadors in great Rage took Arms, and broke through the Borders. At the ſame time, or not much after, *Procopius* began to ſet up for himſelf in the Eaſt; of all which *Valentinian* was inform'd, as he was travelling towards *Paris*, about the beginning of *November*. *Dagalaiphus* was ſent with a powerful Army againſt the *Germans*, who, after they had done what Miſchief they could, retreated, not waiting for *Dagalaiphus* his Arrival. The Rebellion of *Procopius* was of a more difficult Nature, whom *Valentinian* was willing, if poſſible, to cruſh in the beginning, but knew not whether his Brother was alive, or *Procopius* had aſſum'd the Imperial Title upon his Death; ſo lame was the Account *Equitius* ſent him of this Matter, who had receiv'd his Information from one *Anthony*, commanding in the Mid-land *Dacia*. He had a Mind to march into *Illyricum* with all Expedition, and prevent the Uſurper, if he had any Deſigns upon *Pannonia*; for he well remember'd with what ſpeed *Julian* over-ran all thoſe Parts, when he had declar'd himſelf againſt *Conſtantius*, and uſurp'd the Imperial Title, and how ſerviceable his extraordinary and unexpected Diligence prov'd to him: But his Friends about him diſſuaded him all they could from that Reſolution; they remonſtrated to him, how by leaving the Weſt, *Gaul* would unavoidably be expos'd to the Inroads of the Barbarians; in this they were aſſiſted by Deputies from the Cities, who earneſtly beſought him not to forſake 'em in ſo great an Extremity, but awe the *Germans* by his Preſence, and reſtrain 'em by the Terror of his Name. Theſe Arguments made him change his Mind, and prevail'd upon him to comply with their Requeſts. He conſider'd *Procopius* was an Enemy to no more than himſelf and his Brother, whereas the *Germans* were declar'd

Procopius *ſets up for himſelf.*

clar'd Enemies to the whole *Roman* Empire. He resolv'd therefore not to stir out of *Gaul*, but went and resided at *Rheims*; where taking the Affairs of *Africk* into Consideration, and to prevent any sudden Attempt that might be made upon those Parts, he sent away *Neotherius* and others, whose Care it was to keep all quiet there.

In the mean time *Procopius* was very busie at *Constantinople*, where his Affairs seem'd to be in a tolerable Condition. He was Born of a great Family in *Cilicia*, where he had been educated; and being nearly related to *Julian*, he from his Youth met with more than common Esteem. He was a Man of few Words, for the most part very close and reserv'd; tho' he had been bred a Heathen, yet in *Constantius* his Time he was made first a *Notary*, after that a *Tribune* in respect to his Integrity, being reputed a good Moral Man. When *Julian* came to be Emperor he was preferr'd to higher Dignities, and gave some, who more narrowly enquir'd into him, occasion to think he would be ready, if ever it came into his Power, to disturb the Publick Peace. Being sent to attend *Julian*'s Corps to *Tarsus*, as we observ'd before, he privately withdrew from thence for fear of *Jovian*, whose Jealousie he had great reason to suspect, for that it was whisper'd abroad that *Julian* had nam'd him for his Successor at his Death; and he knew that *Jovian* had upon his Advancement put one of his own Name to Death, for no other reason but because a few Soldiers had propos'd him as worthy the Empire. For a long time he led a melancholy Life in solitary remote Places, with great Care avoiding the Industry of those whom *Jovian* had sent to enquire strictly after him, without Company or Sustenance labouring under the utmost Penury; but grown weary of so desolate a Condition,

he

he ſtole ſecretly into the Parts adjacent to *Chalcedon*, and concealing himſelf in the Houſe of *Strategius*, a truſty Friend, he went often to *Conſtantinople*, where his mean Habit and meagre Countenance made him unknown to the moſt curious Eye. Here, like a cunning Spy, he enquir'd diligently after News, and was well pleas'd to hear how the People generally complain'd of *Valens* for Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, to which he was continually prompted by his Father-in-Law *Petronius*, a Man deform'd both in Body and Mind, ſo Cruel, Covetous and Inexorable, that like a Wild Beaſt he rag'd equally againſt the Innocent and the Guilty. Theſe his violent Proceedings, by which he had ruin'd many Perſons of all ſorts in his ſevere Inquiſitions after Debts that had been owing to the Publick ever ſince the Reign of *Aurelian*, created a general Diſlike to the preſent Government, and a Deſire of a Change, which highly pleas'd *Procopius*, who did not deſpair of improving it one Day to his own Advantage. *Valens* was about this time preparing for his Expedition into *Syria*, the better to oppoſe the King of *Perſia*, who ſeem'd to have a Deſign upon *Armenia*; and about the beginning of the Spring the Emperor ſet forward with a very good Army, whoſe Abſence ſeem'd much to contribute to *Procopius* his Ambition, who at length grown weary of his private Neceſſities, and preferring Death to ſo forlorn, uncomfortable a Life, raſhly ventur'd upon a bold and deſperate Undertaking. The Emperor at his Departure out of *Bithynia* had detatch'd a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot from his Army to defend *Thrace* from the Incurſions of the *Goths*, who he was inform'd deſign'd to Invade it. Part of this Detachment was in their March Quarter'd at *Conſtantinople*, and to ſome of the Officers *Procopius* had the Courage to diſcover himſelf and his Inten-

Valens in no Favour with the People.

Intentions, and after many Promiſes of mighty Rewards they undertook to ſecure all that Party to his Intereſt; accordingly the next Day they were drawn up at the *Anaſtatian* Baths, where *Procopius* was preſented to 'em, and appear'd more like a Ghoſt than one fit for any noble or dangerous Undertaking. He was Cloath'd in an Embroider'd Coat like a Courtier, having nothing of a Soldier about him but a Pike, which he bore in his Right Hand, having thrown a Purple Coat over his Left Arm, and indeed appear'd like a Player, repreſenting that Dignity he was going to Uſurp. In this ridiculous Figure he addreſs'd himſelf in a fawning Speech to the Soldiers, and implor'd their Aſſiſtance, who receiv'd him with Promiſes of Protection, and a Show of Honour, conducting him publickly into the City, where he was neither oppos'd nor encourag'd by the Inhabitants, either for that they were fond of a Change, or out of a Deteſtation to *Petronius* his Extortions. Having aſcended the Tribunal, he obſerv'd a deep Amazement in the Face of the People, which was attended with as extraordinary a Silence; this threw him into a great Perplexity, for he now thought he was arriv'd at the end of his former Wiſhes, Death rather than ſo miſerable a Life, and therefore ſtood Speechleſs for ſome time. Recovering by degrees a little Courage, he made the Multitude a confus'd Speech, more agreeable to the Diſtractions of his Mind than the Exigencies of his Affairs, and was anſwer'd firſt by the Applauſe of a few among 'em hired for that purpoſe, and afterwards by the Acclamations of the reſt, who in a tumultuous manner gave him the Title of Emperor. This Ceremony being over they hurry'd him away to the Palace, attended by none but the meaner ſort, and moſt profligate of the People. From ſo contemptible a

Procopius *Uſurps.*

Beginning

Beginning did he by Degrees raiſe himſelf up to ſo great a height, as to be able for ſome time to maintain his Uſurpation, to the no ſmall Expence and Hazard of the State. Some Days after he was join'd by others of the better Sort, invited to it either by their own Inclinations, or the Proſpect of great Advantages. And that no Artifices might be wanting to ſupport his Deſigns, ſeveral Perſons at the Procurement of *Procopius* impudently affirm'd they were come out of *Gaul*; that *Valentinian* was dead in that Province, and the People were generally willing to ſubmit to the new Prince. The better to colour this Impoſture, *Nebridius*, whom *Petronius* his Intrigues had got to be made *Præfectus Prætorio* in the room of *Salluſt*, and *Cæſarius*, Præfect of *Conſtantinople*, were both impriſoned; and leſt *Julius*, who commanded in *Thrace*, ſhould be able with the Forces under him to cruſh the Rebellion in its Birth, *Nebridius* was with great Menaces forc'd to write to him in *Valens* his Name to haſten to *Conſtantinople*, there to aſſiſt the Emperor with his Advice upon very weighty Affairs; whither he was no ſooner come, but he was likewiſe thrown into Priſon. Things proceeding thus far according to his Wiſhes, *Procopius* began to alter and new-model the Officers of the Court, ſome courting and purchaſing at a great Expence Employments under this mock Emperor; others, who beheld 'em as no other than tranſitory Pageants, were compell'd by Force to accept of 'em; and as it is uſual in ſuch inteſtine Confuſions, ſome from the very Dregs of the People were advanc'd to Offices of Honour and Profit, whilſt others of Noble Birth, great Poſſeſſions, and large Endowments, were either Baniſh'd or put to Death.

By theſe Arts *Procopius* imagin'd he had ſettled his Affairs upon a reaſonable Foundation, and began

to think of an Army, whereby he might defend the Dignity he had thus happily acquir'd; and in this he ſucceeded according to his Wiſh, for all the Troops which were deſign'd for *Thrace* readily ſwore Allegiance to him, and bound themſelves under the ſevereſt Execrations to be firm and faithful; this they did with more Chearfulneſs upon ſight of *Conſtantius* his little Daughter, whom *Procopius* brought forth in his Arms to 'em, for this reminded 'em of their Affections to that Prince, and *Procopius* his Relation to *Julian*; nor were they a little animated when they beheld *Fauſtina*, the Child's Mother, who either deſignedly, or elſe upon ſome other accidental Occaſion, had that Day put on the Imperial Habit. After this he diſpatch'd ſeveral Perſons to make ſure of *Illyricum*, who went arm'd with nothing fit for ſo great an Enterprize, but a groundleſs Impudence, and a few of this new Emperor's Medals, and were therefore ſeiz'd by *Æquitius*, who commanded in thoſe Parts, and tortur'd to death. Theſe Proceedings made *Æquitius* apprehend the like Treatment from the Enemy, if ever he ſhould fall into their Hands; whereupon he fortify'd all the Northern Paſſages, and thereby defeated the Uſurper's Deſigns upon *Illyricum*, wherein he did the Emperor a very great piece of Service.

Valens upon the firſt Account of theſe Commotions reſolv'd to return, and ruin *Procopius*, e'er he was able to make too great a Head againſt him; and was now in *Galatia*, where he heard of the Uſurper's unexpected Progreſs; the News of which diſtracted him to that Degree, that in great Conſternation he reſolv'd to quit the Imperial Purple, but was prevented by thoſe about him, who with powerful Arguments encourag'd him to the contrary, and perſuaded him to detach two Parties, who were to march before, and break into the Camp of the Rebels.

bels. At *Mygdus*, a Town in *Phrygia*, ſituate on the River *Singarius*, they met *Procopius*, who had been at *Nice*, and to thoſe who before had ſworn Allegiance to him had added ſuch a promiſcuous number of Fugitives and Deſerters, as were willing to try their Fortunes with him; and when both Armies were ready to engage, ſtepping boldly forward, as if he was going to challenge one of the adverſe Party to a ſingle Combat, he took *Vitalianus*, one of the Officers, by the Hand, accoſted him with a familiar and gentle Salutation in *Latin*, and whilſt all on each ſide were in a ſuſpence, he mildly upbraided him and his Fellow-Soldiers, for drawing their Swords in the behalf of a *Pannonian* Thief, againſt one ally'd to the Family of *Conſtantine* the Great, who deſir'd nothing but to be reſtor'd to the Rights of his Royal Progenitors. By this Speech he ſo effectually inſinuated himſelf into 'em, that they who came arm'd with Reſolutions to fight and deſtroy him, were mollify'd in a moment, and vailing their Enſigns, in token of their Defection, paſſed over to his Party; where with loud Acclamations they ſaluted him Emperor, conducting him with general Approbation to the Imperial Pavilion; and affirming, as the Cuſtom was among the Soldiers in thoſe Caſes, that *Procopius* was invincible.

A Party ſent againſt Procopius *deſert to him.*

This Defection brought a very ſeaſonable Acceſſion to the Strength of *Procopius*, who ſent *Rumitalca* a Tribune, and one of the Deſerters, with Orders to ſeize on *Nice*, which he did with all Expedition. *Valens* detach'd *Vadomarius* with a ſtrong Party to recover it, whilſt he went and laid cloſe Siege to *Chalcedon*, where he met with a very obſtinate Reſiſtance, and beginning to grow in great want of Proviſions he was forced to decamp; of which they in *Nice* having Notice, made a bold Sally under the Conduct of *Rumitalca*, and bearing

down

Valens *in Danger.*

down all before 'em had certainly surprized the Emperor, had he not upon timely Notice of their Design saved himself by the Lake of *Sunona*, and the Windings of the River *Gallio*. By this means all *Bithynia* fell into the Hands of *Procopius*, and *Valens* removed with all Expedition to *Ancyra*, where he was inform'd that *Lupicinus* was marching with considerable Forces out of the East to his Assistance. Upon this Encouragement he sent *Arintheus*, an experienc'd Commander, against the Rebels; who proceeded as far as *Dadastana* before he met with any Resistance, but was there oppos'd by one *Hyperechius*, with whom as a despicable Fellow disdaining to fight, he sent Orders to his own Men to lay hold on their Leader and bind him, which they did accordingly. In the mean time *Procopius* had laid Siege to *Cyzicus*, in which the Treasure, brought formerly out of *Nicomedia* to pay the Army that had served in the East, was at present lodged; upon which account the Usurper had great reason to have an Eye upon that City, by which, if he could take it, he might join the *Hellespont* to *Bithynia*. *Seronianus* was then in the Town, and made the best Defence he could. He chain'd up the Haven and so kept out the Enemies Ships, and very much gall'd the Assailants from the Walls. This Resolution in the Defendants was a very great Obstacle to *Procopius* his Proceedings, and he had rais'd the Siege but for the couragious Attempt of one *Aliso* a Tribune, who with much Danger and an undaunted Resolution contriv'd a way to cut the Chain; in consideration of which bold Exploit he had afterwards his Pardon, and was continu'd in his Employment, tho' they proceeded with great Severity against the rest of the Rebels. *Procopius* being by this means become Master of *Cyzicus*, pardon'd all the Besieg'd, except *Serenianus*, whom he sent bound to *Nice*, with

with Orders that he ſhould be kept in ſafe Cuſtody.

Hitherto he had behav'd himſelf with much Moderation and Humanity: He had lately narrowly eſcap'd a Party ſent out by *Valens* to entrap him, and with much Diligence ſaved himſelf and his Wife in a Ship prepared for the Purpoſe, againſt any ſiniſter Accidents, or unexpected Attempts. But puffed up now with the glorious Progreſs of his Affairs, he began to grow proud and tyrannical, and not regarding the Viciſſitude of Fortune, he commanded *Arbetio*'s Houſe, full of Moveables of an ineſtimable Value, to be rifled. He had hitherto ſpared it in confidence of *Arbetio*'s Friendſhip, but when he found that upon repeated Meſſages he had pretended Sickneſs, and the Inconveniencies of old Age, and for that reaſon declin'd waiting upon him, he gave him this unſeaſonable Proof of his Indignation. He could not but think this improvident Act would draw great Inconveniencies upon him, however he pleas'd himſelf with the Thoughts of being able to paſs into the Eaſt at his Pleaſure, where the Provinces grew weary of the preſent Government, and were deſirous of a Change; upon which Account he attempted to draw the Cities of *Aſia* over to his Party, and liſten'd diligently to thoſe who propos'd to him the readieſt Ways to raiſe Mony, whereby he might be the better able to raiſe Recruits upon occaſion, and ſupply his Army.

The Year following, in which *Gratian* the Son of *Valentinian* and *Dagalaiphus* were Conſuls, *Valens* having joined *Lupicinus*, march'd with a ſtrong Army to *Peſſinus*, a Town belonging to *Galatia*, which he reinforced, and proceeded into *Lycia* with a Deſign to ſurprize *Goamoarius*, who lay little expecting him. *Valens* found by Experience the adverſe Party were much animated againſt him by A. D. 366.

Fauſtina, *Conſtantius* his Widow, and her little Daughter *Conſtantina*, who by *Procopius* his Order were expos'd to the Army, the better to encourage 'em to fight for ſo tender a Branch of that Imperial Stock, to which he himſelf pleaded a Relation's Right. To obviate theſe Artifices, the Emperor prevail'd with *Arbetio*, who was now retir'd to a private Life, to come to him, hoping by the Preſence and Intereſt of one of *Conſtantine*'s Commanders, the Soldiers Minds would be mollify'd; he was not deceiv'd in his Conjectures, for *Arbetio* being provok'd at *Procopius* his late Proceedings againſt him, came as ſoon as ſent for, and being reverenc'd by all for his Age and Dignity, he eaſily perſuaded 'em to their Duty. He told 'em *Procopius* was no better than a Highway-man; but call'd thoſe who had been ſeduced by him, his Sons and Fellow-Soldiers, who had formerly drawn their Swords with Honour, in Defence of the Empire, and Vindication of the Legal Authority, tho' they were now miſs-led by a deſperate Rebel, whom he advis'd them to quit, and reſign up to the Puniſhment his Uſurpation had deſerv'd. This wrought ſo effectually, that *Goamoarius*, whom, with *Agilo*, *Procopius* had advanc'd to the chiefeſt Command in the Army, ſurrender'd himſelf at *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, as did likewiſe *Agilo* at *Nacolia* in *Phrygia*, whither the Emperor was advanc'd to give the Rebels Battel. Here moſt of the Army follow'd the Example of their General, and went over to *Valens*; at which unexpected Accident *Procopius* was ſo amaz'd, that he forſook his Horſe and fled into the adjoining Woods, whither he was attended by *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* a Tribune, who having been acquainted with him ever ſince the Days of *Conſtantius*, had follow'd him out of Neceſſity rather than good Will. There, having ſpent the greateſt Part of the Night in diſtracted

ſtracted Thoughts and doubtful Apprehenſions, 'till the Moon began to ſhine ſo bright that they were in fear of a Diſcovery, they ſeiz'd on the dejected *Procopius*, and led him bound to the Emperor, who immediately commanded his Head to be ſtruck off, and *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* to be put to Death, contrary (in *Ammianus* his Opinion) to the Rules of Juſtice and Reaſon: If they had betray'd a lawful Prince, Death had been no more than what their Treaſon had deſerv'd; but if he was a Rebel and Uſurper, they might reaſonably have expected another ſort of Reward for their ſeaſonable Service. However this was the End of *Procopius* his Uſurpation, who ſuffer'd Death in the fortieth Year and tenth Month of his Age. He was a Man of no mean Preſence, tho' he went ſomething ſtooping, with his Eyes ever fix'd upon the Ground, which proceeded from his melancholy Temper, not much unlike *Craſſus*, who is reported never to have laught but once in his Life. Yet was he always averſe to the ſhedding of Blood, which, conſidering the Moroſeneſs of his Temper, is a thing to be wonder'd at, in *Ammianus* his Opinion.

Procopius *taken, and beheaded.*

Marcellus, Governor of *Nice*, and Kinſman to *Procopius*, hearing of his Death, commanded *Sereni-anus* in the dead of Night to be ſlain, in which he luckily provided for the Safety of a great many Perſons; for being an ill-natur'd cruel Man, and of great Power with *Valens*, whoſe Country-man he was, it is not unlikely but, had he out-lived the Defeat of *Procopius* his Party, he would have exaſperated the Emperor, too much of himſelf inclin'd to Revenge, and procur'd the Deſtruction of many as well innocent as guilty. After this *Marcellus* ſeiz'd on *Chalcedon*, where being aſſiſted by a few, whom Poverty or Deſpair had thruſt into Rebellion, he aſſum'd the Imperial Robe; but was ſhortly after ſurpriz'd

by a Party of ſtout Soldiers ſent for that purpoſe, who threw him into Priſon, from whence he was taken out the next Day, and together with his Accomplices was tortur'd to Death. Tho' *Serenianus* his Death is thought to have abated ſomething of the Rigour in the Proſecutions of the Rebels, yet *Valens* proceeded with the utmoſt Severity againſt thoſe who really were, or who were but barely ſuſpected to have been in *Procopius* his Intereſt. His Ears lay open to all Complaints and Informations, and the leaſt Preſumption made him uſe the ſuſpected Perſon with the greateſt Barbarity; ſo that this which appear'd like a Peace, was more cruel, bloody and inexorable than the moſt raging War: Death Baniſhment, and Confiſcations, were the ordinary Methods of Proceeding, and no Man that had the Misfortune to be accuſed was ſo happy to eſcape one of thoſe three Puniſhments, 'till the Emperor by degrees grew weary of Blood, and he had fill'd his own Coffers and thoſe of his Followers.

Valens *his Severity.*

Horrible Earthquakes.

During *Procopius* his Uſurpation there happen'd ſuch horrible Earthquakes throughout the World, the like of which were ſo far from being met with in ancient Hiſtory, that they exceeded the moſt extravagant Fables. About Break of Day, on the 21ſt of *July*, a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning aroſe, which was attended with ſo dreadful a Motion of the Earth, that the Sea deſerted its ancient Bounds, expoſing Multitudes of its Inhabitants, that were ſeen ſticking on the Mud, and the Sun now, firſt ſince the Creation, beheld the naked Boſom of the Deep, ſwelling up here into vaſt Mountains, and ſtretching forth there into continu'd Vallies; which whilſt Swarms of People came to contemplate, and to behold the Ships that under Sail were left as it were on dry Ground, the Sea on a ſudden, diſdaining a Repulſe, return'd with redoubl'd

doubl'd Fury, and bounding over its former Limits, broke with irreſiſtible Rage over Iſlands into the Continent, where it bore down all before it, private Habitations, publick Buildings, Men and Beaſts. No leſs than fifty thouſand are ſaid to have periſh'd upon this Occaſion, great Multitudes of Ships were found ſtranded after the Receſs of the Waters, and ſome by the Violence of the Winds had been born up on the Tops of Houſes, as it happen'd at *Alexandria*, and ſome at two Miles diſtant from the Shore, as *Ammianus* ſaith he ſaw one himſelf near *Methone*, a Town in *Laconia*. Theſe Prodigies he ſeems to relate as if they portended *Procopius* his Rebellion, tho' they ought rather to be conſider'd as Introductions to that Fatal Inundation of the Northern Nations, which happen'd not long after, and the Total Ruin of the Weſtern Provinces, which follow'd thereupon.

New Troubles in the Weſt.

During theſe Tranſactions in the Eaſt, the *Germans* having recover'd their Strength, which had been ſo much impair'd under the Conduct of *Julian*, began again to give the Empire ſome Trouble, and renew'd their Incurſions into *Gaul*, piercing in the midſt of Winter a great way up into the Country; againſt whom *Charietto* and *Severianus* were firſt diſpatch'd, who being overthrown and kill'd in a obſtinate Engagement with the Enemy, *Dagalaiphus* is made choice of at *Paris*, where *Valentinian* then kept his Court, to reſtore the Honour of the *Roman* Arms; but he delaying the Expedition, and pretending he had not Strength ſufficient to reſtrain the Barbarians, who in ſeveral Bodies were roving about the Country, and being ſent for ſometime after to receive the Conſular Ornaments, and ſhare that Honour with *Gratian*, *Valentinian*'s Son, *Jovinus*, Maſter of the Horſe, was diſpatch'd away with convenient Forces in his room; he informing

forming himself of the Condition the Barbarian Army was in, and ordering his Marches with great Wariness and Circumspection, fell upon a great Party of the Enemy near a Place call'd *Scarponna*, about Twelve Miles from *Mets*, and cut 'em all off before they were able to Arm and put themselves upon their Guard, without losing one Man on his own side; from hence he march'd his Army, animated with so good Success, in quest of another Party, and ~~using~~ the same Care as before, he was inform'd by some Scouts he had sent out for that purpose, that he was not far from the Enemy, who lay in a careless manner upon the Bank of the River. As he drew near he refresh'd his Men in an adjacent Vally, and then upon a Signal given they broke violently into the Camp of the Barbarians, who had neither time to draw themselves into a Body, or take to their Arms, or make the least Resistance, but were all kill'd bitterly cursing and threatning the *Romans*, who were come thus unexpectedly upon 'em. This continu'd Success, with which Fortune in Justice to his Virtue had crown'd his Arms, encourag'd him to proceed against a third Party, whom he found in the *Catalaunian* Plains, but in a better manner prepar'd to receive him. Here he entrench'd himself, and having allow'd his Men time for Sleep and Refreshment, he drew out his Army early in the Morning, and so dispos'd it, that it made an appearance of a good Body, and seem'd to equal that of the Enemy, tho' they far exceeded him in Numbers of Men, but not in Courage and Discipline. Upon a Signal given the Fight began, which continu'd all the Day, tho' the *Romans* had visibly the Advantage during the whole Engagement, 'till *Balchobaudes*, a Tribune of the *Armatura*, a great Boaster, but a downright Coward, ran away towards the Evening, and endanger'd

Jovinus *Defeats the* Germans.

danger'd

danger'd the loſs of the whole Army, which began to be in a Confuſion; 'till the General by his extraordinary Diligence encourag'd the Soldiers afreſh, who preſs'd with ſuch Reſolution upon the Enemy, that they kill'd ſix thouſand upon the Place, and wounded four thouſand, and that with the loſs of no more than two hundred on the *Roman* ſide, and as many wounded. The Night having put an end to the Diſpute, *Jovinus* appear'd again next Morning at the Head of his Troops in the Field, but found the Enemy had taken the Advantage of the Night, and were fled, whom he purſu'd as far as he thought he might with Safety; but finding they were too far gone to be overtaken he return'd to the Camp, where he was inform'd that their King, who with a few others had been taken by ſome whom *Jovinus* had ſent to Plunder the Camp, was in his Abſence hang'd; at which he was ſo highly enrag'd, that he had puniſh'd the Commanding Officer with Death, had it not been made appear to him that it was done by the ungovernable Rage of the Soldiers, who in the Heat of the Service were not to be reſtrain'd. After this compleat Victory he march'd back to *Paris*, and was met without the City by the Emperor, who in reſpect to his eminent Services deſign'd him Conſul for the enſuing Year. The Joy they conceiv'd for ſo proſperous a concluſion of the Campaign, was improv'd by the arrival of Meſſengers from *Valens*, who about the ſame time ſent his Brother *Valentinian* the Head of the Uſurper *Procopius*.

Whilſt the Empire was thus aſſaulted on all ſides, the Church was no leſs diſtracted by Hereſie and Schiſm; the *Arians* had receiv'd ſo ſmall a Check during the ſhort Reign of *Jovian*, who eſpous'd the Orthodox Intereſt, that they ſtill continu'd their *The State of the Church.*

Artifices, Oppreſſions and Cruelties; tho' *Valentinian* was an utter Enemy to their abominable Opinions, yet deſiring, if poſſible, to Unite the Minds of the People, he choſe rather to wink at than openly oppoſe 'em; but *Valens*, whoſe Wife *Domitia* was an *Arian*, and who had been this Year Baptiz'd by the Hands of *Eudoxius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Patron of Arianiſm, declar'd himſelf openly for that Hereſie, omitting no Opportunities for its Encouragement and Support, and doing all he could to drive thoſe Paſtors out of the Church, who had the Courage to oppoſe it, ſo that the *Arians* govern'd as they pleas'd in the Spiritual Affairs throughout the Eaſt; nor were they much inferior in Power in the Weſt, obtaining that by force of Arms which they could not procure by the Favour and Indulgence of the Emperor. This Year *Liberius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, dy'd, upon which enſu'd a Scandalous Sedition in the City, occaſion'd by the different Parties contending for the Succeſſion, in which the *Partiſans* of *Damaſus*, who had been Elected by the *Arians*, diſputed it ſo warmly with the Catholicks, for whom they were too ſtrong, that *Ammianus* ſaid no leſs than 137 Perſons were found dead in a Church, where they us'd to aſſemble to perform their Publick Worſhip; and that *Juventius*, Præfect of the City, finding himſelf unable to quell the Tumult, was forc'd to retire into the Suburbs. He adds, *That it's no wonder to ſee thoſe, who are ambitious of Human Greatneſs, contending with ſo much Heat and Animoſity for that Dignity, which when they have obtain'd they are ſure of being enrich'd by the Oblations of the People, of appearing in great Splendor abroad, conſpicuous in their coſtly Coaches, ſumptuous in their Feaſts, out-doing Soveraign Princes in the Expences of the Table.* For which reaſon *Prætextatus*, a Heathen, who

who was Præfect of the City the Year following, was in the right when he said, *Make me Bishop of* Rome, *and I'll be a Christian too.*

Whilst the *Roman* Arms were busied, as we observ'd before in the West, *Thrace* began to be threatned with new Commotions; for the *Goths* having assisted *Procopius* in his Designs upon the Empire, and supply'd him with a good number of Soldiers, *Valens* thought he had just reason to call 'em to an Account for so bold an Affront; and therefore first sent *Victor*, Master of the Horse, to demand of 'em why they who were at Peace, and in League with the *Romans*, presum'd to join with a Rebel, who had rais'd War against his lawful Soveraign. They alledg'd in Excuse, and produc'd *Procopius* his Letters, wherein he affirm'd himself the Heir of *Constantine*'s Family, and upon that Grounds had a right to the Imperial Title, which he had assum'd; this they said ought to excuse their Proceedings, which were influenc'd by what appear'd to them just and equitable. *Valens* in no manner satisfy'd with this frivolous Answer, march'd towards the latter end of the Spring with a good Army against them, and having muster'd his Men near *Daphne*, a Fort built by *Constantine* the Great in *Mœsia Secunda*, the better to restrain the Inroads of the *Goths*, he pass'd 'em over the *Ister* by Bridges built for that purpose, and got safe on the other side without the least Resistance, where he found little to do; for upon the approach of the *Roman* Army the *Goths* were all fled into the Neighbouring Mountains of *Serri*, inaccessible to any but those who were well acquainted with the Country. But that he might be said to have done something in this Summers Expedition, he sent out *Arintheus* to surprize some who were wand'ring o'er the Plains, and had not yet reach'd their Companions, and so without

Commotions in Thrace.

without receiving any harm, or doing much damage he return'd. The Year following he prepar'd with the ſame Application for a ſecond Invaſion, but was ſtopp'd in his Expedition by the immoderate Overflowings of the *Danube*, and forc'd to encamp near a Village call'd *Carporus*, 'till Winter coming on he remov'd to *Marcianopolis*, where he continu'd the reſt of the Year. The next Summer he renew'd his Deſign, and having laid a Bridge of Boats over the River at *Novidunum*, he pierc'd far into the Country, and fell upon the *Gruthungi*, a very Warlike Nation, and after ſeveral Encounters forc'd *Athanaric*, their Chief Commander, and a Brave Soldier, to fly; after which Exploits he return'd again to Winter in *Marcianopolis*, where ſome Overtures were made of a Peace; which both ſides ſeem'd inclinable to liſten to. By reaſon of the Prince's Abſence the Eaſt was expos'd to great Danger, and the Barbarians, who us'd to drive a great Trade with the Subjects of the Empire, began to be in great Diſtreſs from ſo long an Interruption, ſo that they ſent their Embaſſadors ſufficiently inſtructed to offer their Propoſals for a Peace: And the Emperor, who as yet had a regard to Juſtice, and ſtudy'd the Welfare of his Subjects, tho' he was afterwards miſs-led by his groſs Flatterers, and overwhelm'd the Empire in unſpeakable Misfortunes, gave Ear to the Embaſſadors, ſo that he immediately ſent away *Victor* and *Arinthæus*, who finding the *Goths* to be in good earneſt, agreed upon the Preliminaries, and the Place of Treaty. *Athanaric* affirm'd his Father had made him ſwear ſolemnly never to tread on *Roman* Ground; and becauſe it was below the Majeſty of the Emperor to go to him, they met by conſent in Boats in the middle of the River, where the Peace was ratify'd to their mutual Satisfaction, and Hoſtages deliver'd on

Peace with the Goths.

both

both ſides; after which *Valens* return'd to *Conſtantinople*, whither *Athanaric* likewiſe fled in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, being driven out of his own Country by a Faction rais'd againſt him, and was there very magnificently bury'd after the *Roman* manner.

All this while the *Germans* ſeem'd to be very quiet in the Weſt, ſo that *Valentinian* was at leiſure to look after the Affairs of *Britain*, where the *Picts* and *Scots* committed great Outrages, but were by his extraordinary Care and Management repreſs'd for the preſent; but as he was returning from *Amiens* towards *Triers*, the Year following, he was inform'd that the Barbarians were again up in Arms, and had reduc'd this Iſland to a miſerable Condition, having kill'd *Nictaridus*, and circumvented another Principal Commander of the *Romans*; whereupon *Jovinus* is ſent with great Expedition to reinforce the Army in *Britain*, but receiving ſtill worſe News of the State of Affairs in this Iſland, the Emperor made Choice of *Theodoſius*, a Man of great Experience and exemplary Courage, who at the Head of a gallant Army, both of Horſe and Foot, chearfully undertook the Service. The *Picts* at that time were divided into two Nations, the *Dencalidonii* and *Vecturiones*, beſides whom there were the *Attacotti* and the *Scots*, who rov'd up and down, and committed a great deal of Miſchief. *Theodoſius* embark'd at *Bulloign*, and landed ſafely at *Rutupiæ*, or *Richborough* in *Kent*, where, as ſoon as he was join'd by his whole Army, he march'd directly to *London*, call'd *Londonium* by *Ammianus*, but afterwards *Auguſta*, accounted a City of great Antiquity in his Days; and dividing his Forces into ſeveral Parties, fell upon the Rovers whilſt they lay ſcatter'd up and down loaden with their Booty, which together with their Captives he quickly recover'd out of their Hands, reſtoring all to the right

The Affairs of Britain.

A. D. 367.

Theodoſius *ſent thither.*

Pro-

Proprietors, except a ſmall Portion which he diſtributed among his weary Soldiers. After this he return'd in a triumphant manner to the City, oppreſs'd before with great Difficulties, but by his means reſtor'd to its ancient Freedom. Here whilſt in the ſecret Satisfaction of his preſent Succeſs, and an Uncertainty of the future, he lay conſidering what further Courſe he was beſt to take, he was inform'd by the Priſoners and Deſerters, that his Enemies conſiſted of many Nations fierce and intractable, not to be maſter'd but by Stratagems and ſudden Onſets. Firſt therefore upon Promiſe of a general Pardon he encourag'd thoſe, who had forſaken their Colours, to return; and ſtill intent upon the better Management of the Affairs in the Iſland, he ſent for *Civilis* to govern *Britain* as Vice-Præfect under him, joining *Dulcilius* in Commiſſion with him. Here he continu'd 'till the Year 370. during which time he acted the Part of a hardy couragious Soldier, as well as an experienc'd and vigilant Captain. By his great Care and excellent Management he laid the Foundations of Peace and Security, which continu'd for a long time after, reſtoring both the Cities and Garriſons, into which great Diſorders had crept, to as good a Condition as they had formerly been in. After he had recover'd a Province the Enemy had over-run, fortify'd the Borders, and ſettled all things that were amiſs in the Iſland; he was with much Commendation recall'd to Court, and left his Charge with no leſs Honour, than formerly had waited on the Induſtry and Fortunes of *Furius Camillus*, or *Papirius Curſor*. Tho' theſe Exploits were the Work of ſeveral Years, I thought fit to touch upon 'em once for all, that I might with leſs Interruption attend ſuch Tranſactions as more immediately relate to the Empire.

His Prudent Management.

But

But to return to *Valentinian*, who whilst he lay at *Amiens* fell dangerously ill, insomuch that his Life was despair'd of: Whereupon *Rusticus Julianus*, a Man of a most cruel and implacable Nature, was at a private Meeting propos'd by some *Gauls* for his Successor; but was for good reasons oppos'd by others, who were more inclinable to *Severus*, a Man indeed of an austere surly Temper, but in all Respects to be preferr'd before him. In the mean time the Emperor's unexpected Recovery put an end to the Hopes and Contentions of both Parties; who perhaps not ignorant of what had been transacting, resolv'd to prevent any further Disputes, and vest his Son *Gratian* with the Purple. Having prepared the Minds of the Soldiers to ratifie his Choice, he led *Gratian* into the Camp, where attended by a great Concourse of the Nobility, he plac'd his Son on his right Hand, and in a set Speech recommended him to the Army for their future Emperor. The Sight of the Emperor, the Joy for his Recovery, the Presence of the Young Prince, under whose Reign they promis'd themselves mighty Advantages, easily perswaded 'em to concur with the Emperor in his Request; whereupon they receiv'd and proclaim'd *Gratian* Emperor, giving all possible Demonstrations of their Joy and Satisfaction.

Valentinian falls sick at Amiens.

and upon his Recovery makes his Son Gratian Augustus.

This great Work being over, the Emperor could no longer conceal the Cruelty of his Nature, which he had hitherto for private Ends with great Care and Industry conceal'd. He commanded *Diocles*, who had been *Comes Largitionum* in *Illyricum*, to be burnt alive, upon very inconsiderable Crimes objected against him; as he did likewise *Diodorus* and several others, and that only for flying to the Protection of the Law, against the Oppressions of a great Man in favour. These Executions were done at *Milain*, where the Christians solemnised the Memory

mory of thoſe who ſuffer'd, calling the Place where they were bury'd *The Innocents.* His Fury extended it ſelf to the Corporations, many in whom he had put to death, had he not been reſtrain'd by the ſeaſonable Interpoſition of *Euphraxius* the Quæſtor, and *Florentius* the Præfect. If any one declin'd the Juriſdiction of a Judge, whoſe Malice he had reaſon to think would make him partial in his Cauſe, and from whom upon ſuch an account he might in Equity appeal, he certainly remitted the Cauſe to the ſame Judge, notwithſtanding all the Exceptions the Appealant could make: And if any Man was found to owe the Publick more than it appear'd he was able to pay, *Valentinian*, according to the Severity of an old Law, which the Gentleneſs of milder Adminiſtrations had long ſince abrogated, adjudg'd him to die.

Great Troubles in Africk.

We obſerv'd before how much *Britain* was afflicted by the *Scots* and *Picts*, at the ſame time *Africk* groan'd under the Rage and Cruelty of the Barbarians, having hardly been at eaſe ever ſince the Beginning of this Emperor's Reign, which may well be imputed to the great want of Diſcipline in the Army. One *Romanus* had been ſent to govern in thoſe Parts, a Man of ſo covetous and inſatiable a Temper, that he exceeded the very Barbarians in oppreſſing and pillaging the Provinces; but ſtill took care to have a Friend at Court, who blinded the Emperor with a plauſible Repreſentation of *Romanus* his Conduct, and kept him in Ignorance of the miſerable Condition the Country was in. The *Aſturiani*, a barbarous Nation, had for a long time harraſs'd the Province by their frequent Inroads, but either upon Compulſion or through Fear had ſate ſtill for ſome time in *Jovian*'s Reign, 'till a little before his Death they renew'd their Hoſtilities, and grew more outragious than ever, and that upon this Occaſion.

One

One *Stachao* their Country-man had been guilty of many abominable Practices within the *Roman* Pale, and had proceeded so far as to attempt the betraying of the Province, upon which he was apprehended, convicted, and burnt alive. This so enrag'd the Barbarians, that like wild Beasts they broke out and laid all the Country waste before 'em. They had not the Confidence to attempt *Leptis*, a strong City, well fortify'd and inhabited, but continu'd for three Days together in the fruitful Country about it, kill'd all they met, burnt what they could not bear off, and took *Silva* Prisoner, who was one of the chief Men of the Town, and happen'd to be then with his Family in the Country. The *Leptines* had great reason to be concern'd at this Affront, and therefore apply'd themselves to *Romanus* for Redress; but he refus'd to concern himself in the Matter, unless they would make very large Provisions for him, and furnish him with no less than 4000 Camels for his Expedition. These Demands were too high and exorbitant to be comply'd with by People, who had been exhausted by so many Depredations; so that after he had amuz'd 'em with a pretended Negotiation for 40 Days together, he left 'em to follow other Measures. They seeing they could have no Protection from him, dispatch'd away *Severus* and *Flaccianus* to *Valentinian*, who were to give him a true Account of the miserable State of their Affairs. Of this when *Romanus* was inform'd he sent a Messenger away Post to *Remigius*, his Kinsman and Confident, who was great Steward of the Houshold, desiring him to persuade the Emperor to defer the Business to the Vicar of *Africk* and himself. When the Messengers were arriv'd at Court, and had presented their Petition, offering to prove the Particulars contain'd in it, *Remigius* managed his Friend's Cause with so much Cunning, that the Emperor

peror was at a loſs which to believe; and ſo the Matter ſlept for the preſent, as is uſual in Courts where there is a hurry of Buſineſs.

Whilſt the People of *Tripolis* waited in expectation of their deſir'd Relief, the Barbarians encourag'd by theſe ſiniſter Practices came down in greater Numbers, and waſted all the Territories of *Leptis*, and *Oea*, a Town ſituated between that and *Sebrata*, from which three Cities the Province of *Tripolis* is ſaid to have its Name. They kill'd ſeveral Officers, and an infinite number of inferior Rank; *Romanus*, to whom the Charge of the Militia was lately transferr'd, ſitting all this while idle and unconcern'd. The Noiſe of theſe Devaſtations at laſt reach'd the Emperor's Ears in *Gaul*, at which he was ſo concern'd, that he immediately ſent away *Palladius* with Mony to pay the Army their Arrears, and Orders to bring him a true Information of the State of the Province. In the mean time the *Aſturiani* encouraged by theſe Delays continu'd their Incurſions, raging like ravenous Wolves, whom the Taſte of Human Blood had made more thirſty and implacable. *Mychon*, a ſubſtantial Citizen and a Man of great Intereſt, was ſurpriz'd near the Town, and endeavouring to make his Eſcape he fell into an empty Pit, breaking one of his Ribs in the Fall; from hence he was taken up by the Barbarians and led to the Gates, where he was ranſom'd by his Wife, and drawn up by a Cord to the Top of the Wall, but dy'd of his Wound two Days after. This Privilege of doing what they pleas'd, made the Barbarians more inſolent and preſuming: They attack'd *Leptis* it ſelf, and continu'd before the Walls for eight Days together; but finding the Inhabitants reſolv'd to defend the Town, and having ſome of their own Men wounded, they return'd ſomething diſcourag'd. The *Leptines* all this while hearing no News of their

former

former Messengers, and reduc'd to the last Extremities, sent *Jovinus* and *Pancratius* with fresh Instructions to the Emperor, whom they were to inform of what they had both seen and suffer'd. At *Carthage* these Messengers met with *Severus* and *Flaccianus*, from whom they understood the Emperor's Will, but however proceeded with great Diligence to Court. *Severus* dy'd at *Carthage*, but *Flaccianus* return'd to give the *Leptines* an Account of his Embassy.

By this time *Romanus* was inform'd of *Palladius* his Approach, and the Substance of his Commission, and therefore consider'd what Methods were to be taken for his own Security. He dealt under-hand with the Principal Officers of the Army, with whom he maintain'd a good Intelligence, to present *Palladius* with the greatest Share of the Mony he had brought to pay their Arrears, which they readily consented to; and *Palladius*, being of a mean mercenary Temper, as readily accepted. Being arriv'd at *Leptis*, he receiv'd from *Erectheus* and *Aristomenes*, two of the chief Men in the Town, the dismal Complaints of the Inhabitants, by whom he was conducted to view the lamentable Condition of the Country, and the miserable Havock the Barbarians had made. Which when he had diligently survey'd he return'd with bitter Exclamations against *Romanus*, threatning to give the Emperor a full Account of the Condition to which he saw the Province was reduced by his Means. But *Romanus*, provok'd at his Reproof, and conscious of his Mismanagement, told *Palladius* he would turn Informer too, and let the Emperor know how faithfully he had discharged his Trust, having perverted the greatest share of the Soldiers Donative to his own private Use; which put *Palladius* into such a Fright, that he agreed with *Romanus* to conceal all from

the Emperor; and accordingly assured him at his Return, that the Provincials complain'd without any reason: And being sent back a second time into *Africk*, he and *Romanus* tamper'd so cunningly with the *Leptines* that they deny'd they had given *Jovinus* any Commission to say what he did to the Emperor; who thereupon order'd *Erectbius* and *Aristomenes* to have their Tongues cut out, and *Jovinus* to be put to Death, and proceeded with the like Severity against all the rest, who had been industrious in exposing the Villany of *Romanus*. *Jovinus* was executed at *Utica*, but *Erectbius* and *Aristomenes* made their Escape, and lay conceal'd 'till after the Death of *Valentinian*; when the whole Intrigue was discover'd, and the Complotters suffer'd as they deserv'd.

The King of Persia *begins new Troubles.*

As these Commotions in *Africk* seem'd an Instance of the Declension of the Empire, so did *Sapor*, the old King of *Persia*, by his Practices in the East bid open Defiance to it. He had, since that infamous Peace made with *Jovian*, been frequently tampering with the Nobility of *Armenia*, trying by fair Promises to allure them over to his Party, and to force the ordinary sort by Menaces: But being now no longer able to conceal his Designs, he openly Invaded it; and having by abominable Treachery got *Arsaces* King of the Country into his Hands, he first put out his Eyes, and then murder'd him at a Castle call'd *Agabana*: Then driving out *Sauromaces*, whom the *Romans* had set over *Iberia*, he insolently put one *Aspacuras* in his Place, and in Defiance of the *Roman* Authority honour'd him with a Diadem. Encourag'd by this Success in his Arbitrary Proceedings, he committed *Armenia* to the Care of *Cylaces* the Eunuch, and *Artabanes*, two Fugitives whom he had long entertain'd in his Court; and at the same time gave 'em Orders to take and

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raze *Artogeraſſa*, a very ſtrong Town, in which the Queen lay with her Son and the Treaſure of *Arſaces*. They, as they had been commanded, laid Siege to the Place; but foraſmuch as the Town ſtood very advantagiouſly, and the Severity of the Winter hinder'd the Beſiegers from advancing their Works, *Cylaces* and *Artabanes* upon Promiſe of a ſafe Conduct were admitted into the Place, where they endeavour'd in high Terms to perſuade the Queen to ſurrender, and by a ſpeedy Compliance make the King of *Perſia* her Friend. She in a very pathetical manner bewail'd her Husband's Death, and her own Misfortunes, and wrought ſo effectually with her Tears upon thoſe two Captains, that from Enemies they began firſt to pity her Condition, and then to embrace her Intereſt; upon which entering into a more ſecret Conſultation, it was concluded that the Beſieg'd ſhould, at a ſet Hour in the Night, ſally out with an unexpected Force upon the Enemy, and attack 'em in their Trenches, and that *Cylaces* and *Artabanes* ſhould favour the Attempt. Theſe Things being agreed upon, and both Sides having ſolemnly ſworn to the Performance of 'em, the two Commanders return'd to the Camp, telling the *Perſians* the Beſieg'd had deſir'd two Days to conſider of their Propoſals. This threw the Beſiegers into a ſtupid Security, ſo that in the dead of Night, whilſt the Guards themſelves were aſleep, thoſe from the City came ſuddenly upon 'em, and fell on 'em with ſo much Fury, that they ſuffer'd few or none to eſcape. *Sapor* was ſo exaſperated at this Accident, that he breath'd nothing but Revenge; eſpecially when he found that *Para* the Son of *Arſaces*, whom the Queen, after the late Advantage obtain'd over the *Perſians*, had ſent into the *Roman* Territories, was kindly receiv'd by *Valens* his Order, and appointed to reſide at *Neocæſarea*. This

Generosity of the Emperor towards *Arsaces* his Son, encourag'd *Cylaces* and *Artabanes* to desire his Assistance against *Sapor*, and that he would send young *Para* to be their King. For some time the Emperor deny'd their Request, but at length commanded *Terentius* his Governor in those Parts to conduct *Para* into *Armenia*, where he suffer'd him to command, but without any of the Ensigns of Royal Authority; proceeding thus cautiously, lest *Sapor*, who was already highly provok'd, should have just Cause to object to the *Romans* the Breach of the Peace.

Sapor, when he was inform'd of what *Valens* had done, was enraged to the highest Degree, and fell violently upon *Armenia*, which he ravaged, and laid all waste before him, whilst *Para*, seeing no possibility of Relief, fled with *Cylaces* and *Artabanes* into the strong Holds of the Mountains, which lay between the *Roman* Borders and *Lazica*, where they lay lurking five Months together, in spite of all the Means made use of by *Sapor* to take 'em: Who seeing it to no purpose to hunt any longer after 'em, burnt all the Forts and Castles he had taken either by Fraud or Force, and sate down with a numerous Army before *Artogerassa*, which after several Sallies and Attacks he took and destroy'd, carrying away the Wife and Treasure of *Arsaces*. These Proceedings seem'd to give the *Romans* a just Occasion to begin the War, and therefore *Arintheus* is sent with a good Army to assist the *Armenians* upon all Occasions; which *Sapor* no sooner understood, but he betook himself to his usual Artifices, in which he seldom miscarry'd. By private Messengers he proffer'd *Para* his Friendship and Assistance, and seem'd to blame the Baseness of his Spirit, that could suffer himself to be cheated with the Shadow of Authority, whilst *Cylaces* and *Artabanes* assum'd all the

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Power, and were in Effect no other than his Governors; by these cunning Insinuations he so far impos'd upon the Ignorance of the Young Prince that he kill'd 'em both, and sent their Heads to *Sapor*, to let him know how tractable he should find him for the future. By this means he had unavoidably got all *Armenia* into his Hands, had not *Arintheus* by his timely Approach prevented him; so that finding himself likely to be over-power'd he requir'd by his Embassadors to the Emperor, that according to the Articles of Peace between him and *Jovian*, the *Armenians* might receive no Assistance from the *Romans*. This the Emperor was so far from condescending to, that he order'd *Terentius* with Twelve Legions to restore *Sauromaces* by force to his Principality of *Iberia*; but *Aspacuras* desir'd of *Sauromaces*, as he drew near with the *Roman* Army to the River *Cyrus*, that being Kinsmen they might govern conjointly, alledging that he could neither give up the Country, or take part with the *Romans*, because his Son was detain'd as an Hostage in the *Persian* Court. The Emperor being acquainted with these Proposals, and willing to settle the Affairs of *Iberia* in as peaceable a manner as he could, consented to a Partition of the Country, assigning that part which lay next to *Armenia* and *Larica* to *Sauromaces*, and to *Aspacuras* the Residue bordering upon *Albania* and *Persia*. This Agreement highly incens'd *Sapor*, who loudly complain'd that the *Romans*, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, had reliev'd *Armenia*, despis'd his Embassy, and without his Knowledge or Consent had divided *Iberia*, for which Indignities he vow'd to be reveng'd, making all Preparations accordingly both at home and abroad to undo what had been concerted without his Concurrence. These things happen'd in the Years 368. and 369. in the last of which *Valentinian*, A. D. 369.

lentinian, the Son of *Valens*, and *Aur. Victor*, were Conſuls.

Valentinian's *Exploits in* Germany.

About the ſame time one *Rhando*, a *German* of Royal Birth, ſeiz'd ſuddenly upon the City of *Ments*, a Deſign he had been long contriving, and could the eaſier execute by reaſon there was no Garriſon in it; and it happening to be upon ſome Solemn Feſtival, the Inhabitants, who were all Chriſtians, were buſie at their Devotion, and therefore little able to defend themſelves; after he had made himſelf Maſter of the Place he plunder'd it, and went off with a great Booty, and a great many Priſoners of both Sexes. Not long after, as if Fortune had a Mind to make the *Romans* ſome amends, *Vithicabius*, a Prince of that Nation, was murder'd by one of his own Servants at the Inſtigation of ſome *Roman* Emiſſaries. He was an active, vigilant Prince, tho' he outwardly appear'd weak and infirm, and had been both by his Arms and in his Councils a great Stickler againſt the *Romans*, whoſe open Attempts againſt him he had often evaded, and therefore they had no other means left to remove him but by Treachery. The Traitor, as ſoon as the Fact was committed, fled his Country to avoid the Puniſhment he too juſtly deſerv'd, and was kindly receiv'd by the *Romans*. *Valentinian* could not but think the *Germans* would revenge ſo foul a Treaſon with all the Acts of Hoſtility imaginable, and therefore made more than ordinary Preparations to prevent them. He rais'd a very powerful Army, ſupply'd it with all manner of Proviſions, and as ſoon as the time of the Year would permit paſs'd the *Rhine* without any reſiſtance, taking his Son *Gratian* along with him. After a long March of ſeveral Days into the Country, without meeting any Enemy to oppoſe 'em, they came to a Place call'd *Solicinium*, where he was inform'd by his Spies that

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the Enemy were near at Hand, who finding it impossible to avoid coming to an Engagement, possess'd themselves of a very advantagious piece of Ground, which they resolv'd to defend against the *Roman* Legions, and out of which the Emperor resolv'd to remove 'em. The Place was a high and scraggy Mountain, almost inaccessible on every side, except that which look'd towards the North; thither he sent *Sebastianus*, with part of the Forces under his Command, to intercept the *Germans* in their Flight, if he should have the good Fortune to gain the better of 'em from any other Quarter: He himself went attended with some in whom he could best confide, to see on what other part he might most commodiously attempt 'em, in which Enterprize he very narrowly escap'd an Ambuscade of the Enemy, and with much difficulty got safe to his own Men; who after they had refresh'd themselves prepar'd for the Engagement, and attack'd the Enemy with so true a *Roman* Courage, that notwithstanding all the Opposition the *Germans* could make, who fought with more Resolution than Conduct, they gain'd the Top of the Mountain, and surrounded them. However the *Germans* maintain'd the Fight for a long time with a desperate Bravery, 'till at length over-power'd by fresh Supplies they were first put into Disorder, and after that to Flight, in which more Men fell than in the Battel; those few that escaped fled into the Woods, leaving to the *Romans* the Honour of the Field, and the Advantage of a very great Victory, purchas'd at the Expence of a few common Soldiers, and the Loss of two or three brave Commanders. After this the Soldiers were sent into Winter Quarters, and the two Emperors return'd to *Triers*.

Great Cruelties exercis'd at Rome.

About this time there were extraordinary Outrages committed in *Rome* by the means of one *Maximinus*, who from an obscure Beginning rose to a Principal Command in the City. He was of a cruel inexorable Temper, and being a Man of great Interest with *Valentinian*, who was almost as cruel as himself, he rag'd without Distinction against all Ages and Conditions, varnishing over his barbarous Proceedings with the specious Colour of Justice. Never did Tyrant with more Implacableness afflict a People he was sent to Govern, or more notoriously pervert the Laws to the Ruin of those they were design'd to Protect; from being Intendant of the Publick Corn, he at length, by his Impudence and Flattery, arriv'd at the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio* it self, bearing himself with equal Insolence, Pride and Corruption in all his Offices, 'till at last, under *Gratian*, he suffer'd Death by the Hands of the Common Hangman, together with several of his Instruments and Accomplices.

Valens his Tyrannical Proceedings in the East.

About the same time *Valens* rag'd with equal Fury in the East, to which an appearance of Danger, and the evil Practices of some of his own Servants, had justly provok'd him. *Anatolius* and *Spudasius*, two Persons employ'd in the Revenue, were accus'd of having attempted the Life of *Fortunatianus*, who had the Principal Management of the Emperor's Private Estate, and who being a troublesom inquisitive Man, was calling them to a very severe Account for Matters relating to their Office. The Matter is brought before *Modestus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and one *Palladius* and *Heliodorus* are put to the Rack. *Palladius*, unable to endure the Torture, cry'd out, That these were slight inconsiderable Matters compar'd to others in Agitation, which were of that Consequence, as to bring all things into Confusion, without a timely Prevention; being

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urg'd to a Diſcovery of what he meant, he accus'd *Fidueſtius*, who had formerly been Preſident, and *Irenæus*, and *Pergamius*, of learning, by ſecret Practices and forbidden Arts, the Name of him who was to ſucceed *Valens* in the Empire. *Fidueſtius* was by chance then preſent, and was too much ſurpriz'd at ſo peremptory and unexpected a Charge to deny the Fact. He confeſs'd that he, together with one *Hilarius* and *Patritius*, two Perſons well skill'd in the Art of Divination, enquir'd into that Matter, and found, upon trial, that an excellent Prince was to ſucceed *Valens*, but that they themſelves ſhould come to untimely Ends for their fatal Curioſity; that examining farther between themſelves, who was moſt likely to be the Man, they concluded it could be no Body but *Theodorus*, whoſe great Accompliſhments made him worthy the Sovereign Command. And indeed they were not much deceiv'd in their Conjecture, for *Theodorus* was deſcended of an Ancient and Noble Famimily in *Gaul*, tho' a *Sicilian* by Birth, and acceptable to all Men of all Conditions, who highly eſteem'd him for his Modeſty, Prudence, Learning and Humanity, Virtues that deſerv'd a more exalted Fortune than that to which he was arriv'd, tho' he then had great Preferments at Court. *Fidueſtius* confeſs'd farther, being almoſt tortur'd to Death, that he had inform'd *Theodorus* of theſe Predictions by the Intervention of *Euſerius*, a Man of great Learning and eminent Quality, haivng formerly commanded as Vicar in *Aſia*. *Euſerius* was immediately committed to Priſon, and the Emperor inform'd of all that had paſs'd, which enrag'd him to the higheſt degree. Orders were immediately iſſu'd out for the apprehending *Theodorus* at *Conſtantinople*, as were likewiſe ſeveral others, eminent for their Birth and Employments, ſeiz'd in more

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remote Parts of the Empire, and brought up in Cuſtody. The Publick Priſons could not contain thoſe that were apprehended, nor were private Dwellings ſufficient for the Reception of ſuch Multitudes of People, abundance of whom were committed upon bare Suſpicion. For *Valens* was naturally of a jealous, diſtruſtful Temper, which his Flatterers that were conſtantly about him labour'd to improve, and ſome late Practices againſt his Life had abundantly exaſperated, which however can in no meaſure excuſe the unexampled Rigour of his Inquiſitions; he proceeded with equal Severity againſt the Innocent and the Guilty, and frequently reſolv'd upon the Puniſhment before he was acquainted with the Crime, ſo that a great many were commanded to prepare for Death before they knew they were in the leaſt ſuſpected. He was too Proud and Imperious to ſubmit himſelf to the Coolneſs of a ſober Enquiry, too Covetous to ſuffer any to eſcape who had been once accus'd, and too much abus'd by his Paraſites to give Ear in the Courſe of his Proceedings to the Advice of Men of Honour and Conſcience: In a Word, he was grown ſo ſeverely terrible that one *Salia*, who had a little before been Intendant of the Treaſury in *Thrace*, fell down dead at the Officer's Feet the Morning he was to be examin'd, under an apprehenſion of the great Torture he was that Day to undergo.

The firſt that was brought upon the Stage was *Pergamius*, who being a Man full of Words, in a very large Diſcourſe accus'd ſome thouſands as Acceſſary, many of whom were then living in the remoteſt Parts of the Empire; but whereas the Judges were before at a loſs in what Method to proceed, his indigeſted Allegations made it more confus'd and intricate, and ſo he was put to Death. After

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ſeveral had been examin'd, who vary'd in ſome Particulars, but agreed in the main, *Theodorus* was commanded to ſpeak, who at firſt made uſe of Intreaties, and earneſtly begg'd of the Inquiſitors to interceed with the Emperor in his Behalf; but being compell'd to ſpeak more to the purpoſe, he declar'd that he once intended to diſcover the whole Practice to *Valens*, but was prevented by *Euſerius*, who perſuaded him that what had been foretold was not to be the Effect of any predominant, ambitious Paſſion, but to proceed from the abſolute Neceſſity of Fate; the ſame was confeſs'd by *Euſerius* upon the Rack, and ſome Letters written by *Theodorus* to *Hilarius* were produc'd againſt him, in which Letters he profeſs'd he did not doubt of the Truth of the Prediction, but waited for a convenient Opportunity to put the Deſign in Execution. After this they were remov'd, and *Eutropius*, who then govern'd *Aſia* as Proconſul, and is thought to be the Author of the Abridgement of the *Roman* Hiſtory, which he Dedicated to *Valens*, was produc'd as privy to the Crime, but when all their Endeavours and Tortures to make *Paſiphithus* the Philoſopher accuſe him were ineffectual, he was diſmiſs'd. The Examination being over, and the whole Diſcovery made and reported to the Emperor, he with one general Sentence commanded 'em all to be put to Death, which Sentence was executed accordingly without Mercy or Diſtinction, 'till the Hangmen were quite weary of their Employment. Among thoſe that ſuffer'd was *Maximus* the Philoſopher, and famous Maſter of *Julian*. He confeſs'd he had been inform'd of what the Oracle had predicted, but out of Reſpect to his Profeſſion had conceal'd it, tho' he had foretold that they, who were concern'd in the Conſultation, would loſe their Lives. He was Beheaded at *Epheſus*, the Place of his

his Nativity, by *Festus* Proconsul of *Asia*, sent thither by *Valens* for that purpose, tho' he then lay sick of an incurable Distemper, which in a few Days would. have ended his Life without the Intervention of the Hangman's Ax. In this publick Massacre fell likewise *Diogenes*, a great Lawyer, who not long before had been Governor in *Bithynia*, who was guilty of no other Crime but the Possession of a large Estate. He was a Man of noble Birth, an excellent Wit, and profound Eloquence, and fell universally lamented for his Candor, Magnificence and Integrity.

These violent Proceedings, which seem'd to exceed the rigour of former Proscriptions, were highly distastful to the People, for which reason the Emperor caus'd an infinite number of Books to be burnt, as if they contain'd dangerous Doctrines, and treated of forbidden Arts, thinking thereby to allay his Subjects Displeasure, whereas they treated of nothing but what related either to the Liberal Sciences or the Civil Law. In the mean time the Provinces were fill'd with general Lamentations, the Fury of the Inquisition sweeping away whole Families at once; for the Husband was no sooner dead, and the House by Publick Order seiz'd, but the Officers, appointed to examine the Goods, privately convey'd among the Writings some pretended Charm or ridiculous Enchantment, which being preferr'd in Court against 'em, they were all seiz'd by Order of the Judges, who had no regard to Law, Religion or Conscience; and after all their Limbs were broken upon the Rack, they were, both young and old, without any Defence made, convey'd forth in Chairs to be Executed. Hereupon so great a Terror seiz'd upon all sorts of Persons, that they burnt their Libraries, renounc'd their Learning, and chose rather to be reputed ignorant

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and unskilful, than make the leaſt Profeſſion of Philoſophy at ſo certain a Hazard of their Lives.

This is the Account *Ammianus* gives us of this Matter; others ſay, the Oracle foretold that the firſt Part of the Perſon's Name who was to ſucceed *Valens* was *Theod.* for which reaſon he not only diſpatch'd *Theodorus*, but to make void the Prediction put a great many to Death, whoſe Names began with thoſe Syllables, ſuch as *Theodulus*, *Theodoſius*, and the like, without ever reflecting on that receiv'd Maxim, *That never any Prince can put his Succeſſor to death.*

Whilſt *Valens* was raging thus with more than Savage Fury at *Antioch*, *Valentinian*, whoſe greateſt Fault was his Cruelty, was carefully concern'd for the Borders of the Empire in the Weſt, which he diligently ſecur'd againſt the Incurſions of the Barbarous Nations; and had ſeiz'd on *Macrianus* a King of the *Germans*, a reſolute and troubleſome Prince, had not the Intemperance of his Soldiers, who contrary to his expreſs Orders burnt and deſtroy'd all that came in their way, given the King notice of his Approach, which he took all the Meaſures imaginable to conceal. He was ſcarce return'd to *Triers* from this Expedition, before he was inform'd of new Troubles in *Africk*.

Nubel, a petty Prince, but a Man of the greateſt Power in *Mauritania*, dying, left ſeveral Sons behind him; one of which, call'd *Zamma*, being privately made away by his Brother *Firmus*, gave a Beginning to a War, which enſu'd thereupon: For *Zamma* was a Man for whom *Romanus*, of whom we had occaſion to ſpeak before, had a great Eſteem, and for whoſe Death he was reſolv'd to have a full Revenge. To which purpoſe he had the Matter very earneſtly ſollicited by his Friends in *Valentinian*'s Court, and *Remigius* ſo managed it in his Behalf,

half, that *Firmus* was not allow'd by his Agents to offer any thing in his own Defence; which made the *Moor* afraid of being condemn'd unheard, and, for fear of a Surprize, put him upon his Defence; he therefore Revolted from the *Romans*, and assuming the Title of King set up for himself.

The Moors *revolt in* Africk.

This News was no sooner brought to Court, but *Theodosius* was sent immediately away to reduce him if possible, before he had time to strengthen himself too much. *Zosimus* saith, not only *Firmus* and his Adherents revolted, but the *Moors* in general, provoked to it by *Romanus* his Tyranny, who had so miserably harrass'd and impoverish'd em; so that the Emperor had great reason to be diligent in a matter which might turn to so ill a Consequence: And there was great need of so expert a Commander as *Theodosius*, who was forc'd to make use of all his Skill, to new model and regulate an Army, part of which for want of Discipline were grown headstrong and licentious; and the rest, newly arriv'd with himself from cold Climates, were unused to the Heat of the Country, and the less fit for Service. Besides there was no good Correspondence at first between 'em, which with great Industry he endeavour'd to procure, before he thought fit to enter upon Action. His first Care upon his Arrival in *Africk* was to secure *Vincentius*, who having been *Romanus* his Deputy, had concurr'd with him in all his Insolence and Extortion: To this Service he deputed *Gildo*, the Brother of *Firmus*, who continu'd then firm in his Obedience to the *Romans*, tho' he afterwards revolted from them in the Days of *Honorius*. At *Igilgitanum*, where he first landed, he by chance met with *Romanus*, whom for the present he dismiss'd without any Reproach, to take care of the advanc'd Guards, but not long after, upon his Arrival at *Sitifis*, gave Orders for his Apprehension.

Theodosius *sent against 'em.*

Firmus

Firmus hearing so renown'd a Commander was sent against him, began to doubt of his Success, and therefore submitted himself by Messengers sent on purpose to him, and ask'd Pardon for what was past, affirming he was forc'd upon it, not by his own Will, but the Injuries and Indignities he had receiv'd from others, who provok'd him to that which he own'd he could no ways justifie. *Theodosius* thought it prudent to admit of his Submission and Excuse, and promis'd to pardon him upon Receipt of Hostages for his good Behaviour for the future: After which he march'd to *Panchariana*, where he had appointed the general Rendevouz, and muster'd his Army. Having establish'd a good Understanding between 'em, and by his generous Carriage procur'd the Love of the Inhabitants, he march'd to a Place called *Tubusuptius*, adjoining to the Mountain *Ferratus*, where he refus'd to admit of *Firmus* his second Embassy, because he had not sent the Hostages he had promis'd, and were agreed upon. After which in several Encounters he defeated *Mascizel* and *Dius*, two other of *Firmus* his Brethren, having wasted the Country round about, and possess'd himself of a strong Town, which he made choice of for a Magazine, in case he should think fit to penetrate farther into the Country. These Proceedings very much dishearten'd *Firmus*, who thereupon sent some Christian Bishops, with the Hostages he had promis'd, to interceed with *Theodosius* in his Behalf. *Theodosius* receiv'd 'em with much Civility, and, upon a Promise that his Army should be supply'd with Provisions, dismiss'd 'em with a favourable Answer to *Firmus*; which encourag'd the *Moor* to make the General a Visit, having first sent some Presents before hand to make way for his Reception. As he drew near he leap'd from his Horse, being surprized at the Lustre of the *Roman* Ensigns, and the awful Appearance of

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the Commander. He bow'd himſelf to the Ground, and with Looks full of Contrition bewail'd his Folly and Raſhneſs, and begg'd Pardon for his Offence. *Theodoſius* receiv'd him very graciouſly, and having given him all the Encouragement he expected or deſir'd, diſmiſs'd him well pleas'd with his Entertainment. At his Departure he left ſome of his near Relations behind him for Hoſtages, and promis'd to reſtore the Priſoners he had taken when he firſt revolted. Accordingly two Days after he ſurrender'd *Icoſium*, together with the military Enſigns, and whatever elſe he had ſeiz'd, delivering all up into the Hands of the *Romans*.

At a Place call'd *Tipaſa*, *Theodoſius* met with the Embaſſadors of the *Mazices*, a Nation inhabiting the Eaſtern Parts of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, who had join'd with *Firmus* in the Revolt: They came to ſubmit themſelves in the Name of the whole Nation, and to beg Pardon for their Offence. *Theodoſius* return'd 'em a very ſurly Anſwer, telling 'em he was reſolv'd to chaſtiſe their Inſolence, and puniſh 'em for their Perfidy to the *Romans*. With this Meſſage he diſmiſs'd 'em, and proceeded to *Cæſarea*, a City *Firmus* had ſeiz'd upon by Stratagem in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and after he had almoſt ruin'd it with Fire and Sword, deliver'd it up as a Prey to the Barbarians. Here *Theodoſius* for the preſent diſpos'd of the firſt and ſecond Legion, who were to ſecure it in the beſt manner they could againſt any farther Attempts of the Enemy. Whilſt he continu'd here he found, upon a more narrow Enquiry, that *Firmus* mean'd nothing leſs than Peace, that he only watch'd an Opportunity of attacking him at the beſt Advantage, and deſtroying him and his Army. Whereupon removing to *Sugabarri*, a Town of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, he puniſh'd a *Roman* Cohort, whom he had ſeiz'd there, and who had

Firmus his treacherous Dealings.

had formerly revolted to the Enemy. From thence he march'd farther up into the Country, and fell upon the *Mazices*, who having collected themselves into one Body, made at first a very vigorous Resistance, but were at length overthrown, and put all to the Sword, except some few who cry'd for Quarter. After this he detach'd part of his Forces to secure some Places that lay too much expos'd to the Barbarians, and proceeded on towards some other Nations that had favour'd the Revolt. In his March he was met by the *Moors*, who were pouring down upon him in great Multitudes from all Quarters, breathing nothing but Fury and Destruction. These People had been rais'd by *Cyria*, *Firmus* his Sister, who being a Woman of great Wealth and extraordinary Conduct had encourag'd 'em with the Promise of mighty Rewards. *Theodosius*, who was then but Three Thousand Five Hundred strong, declin'd Fighting upon such great Odds, for fear of losing his whole Army, and therefore preserving a Medium betwixt a Fight and a Flight, he gave Ground, and retir'd by Degrees. With this the Enemy were so encourag'd, that they stopp'd up all the Passages in order to cut off his Retreat; and had certainly destroy'd the whole Army, had not the unwary *Moors* mistook some of their own Countrymen for a fresh Supply coming to *Theodosius*, who indeed were marching to join them with some *Romans* at the Head, which gave ground to the Mistake: Affrighted at this they fled in great Precipitation, and left the *Romans* at liberty to make their Escape. *Theodosius* made a safe Retreat with the Army to a Place call'd *Muzutanum*, where having punish'd some Deserters, as a Warning to the rest, he came in *February* to *Tipata*; where reflecting upon the Posture of his Affairs, he began to manage the War after another Method, and without entring into the Field, he re-

ſolv'd to tire out the Enemy, like *Fabius* of old, by Arts and Stratagems. He diſpatch'd ſome, who were skilful in the Art of Perſuaſion, to the neighbouring Nations, to endeavour by Threats and Promiſes to draw 'em into an Aſſociation with him. Of this his politick Proceeding *Firmus* was quickly ſenſible, and knowing it the only way to ruin him, tho' he had a ſufficient Guard about his Perſon, and an Army at Command, rais'd with great Induſtry and no leſs Expence, he took the Advantage of a dark Night, and retir'd with great Secreſie to the Mountains, which by reaſon of the Rocks and Precipices were in a great meaſure inacceſſible. The Multitude, now without a Head, were ſo diſheart-en'd at his ſudden Departure, that they quickly diſpers'd themſelves, leaving their Camp to the *Romans*; upon which when *Theodoſius* had ſeiz'd, he waſted the Country at his Pleaſure, killing all who had the Courage to make any Reſiſtance, and plac'd ſuch Governors over the Nations through which he paſs'd as he had great Reaſon to confide in. *Firmus* found the General purſu'd him very cloſe, and therefore made all the Haſte he could from him, attended only with a few Servants in whom he could truſt, throwing away whatever things of Value he had with him, which might retard him in his Flight. He never reſted 'till he was got into the Country of the *Iſflenſes*, who very chearfully undertook his Protection; by whoſe Aſſiſtance he often reduced the *Romans* to great Straights, overpowering 'em with ſuperior Numbers, falling upon 'em in advantagious Places, and at times they little expected 'em. However *Theodoſius* his Fortune at length prevail'd; he overthrew the Enemy in two or three Battels, in one of which *Mazaca*, *Firmus* his Brother, was taken Priſoner, and dy'd preſently of his Wounds. *Evaſius*, a Perſon of great Authority among 'em, and

Florus

Florus his Son, were burnt alive for assisting the Rebels, and *Firmus* himself with great Difficulty escaped. These Disadvantages by degrees tired the *Isaflenses*, who at last grew weary of espousing the Interest of an unfortunate Man, and having been weary'd out by the frequent Alarms *Theodosius* gave 'em, dropp'd off from him one by one, and left him almost alone. In this Condition, whilst he was considering of an Escape, he was seiz'd by *Igmazen*, Prince of that Country, and clapp'd into Prison; where, to avoid the Terror and Disgrace of the Punishment he apprehended from the *Romans*, he hang'd himself. *Theodosius* receiv'd the News of his Death with a great deal of Satisfaction, and having order'd *Castor* and *Martinianus*, two of *Romanus* his Accomplices to be burnt alive, he return'd to *Sitifis*, where he was receiv'd with much Solemnity, to the universal Joy of the Inhabitants.

Firmus *seiz'd, hangs himself.*

Thus were the Troubles in *Africk* compos'd by the great Prudence and Industry of *Theodosius*, who after all his great Exploits, and the mighty Services he had render'd the Empire, was by an Order from Court beheaded at *Carthage*. We can't learn from History the Reasons for which he was put to death. They who are the least inclin'd to *Valens*, say it was done by his Procurement; and that for fear he should be the Man design'd by the Oracle for his Successor, in regard of his extraordinary Merit and great Atchievements. Others say he ow'd his Death to the malicious Suggestions of certain Courtiers, who envy'd him the Honours he had worthily acquir'd, and could not endure any Man should be better than themselves. According to his own earnest Desire he was Baptiz'd at *Carthage* just before he dy'd, and was as exemplary in his Death as he had been glorious in his Life.

Theodosius, *after all his Services, put to Death.*

The Fall of this great Man, as it was a Scandal to *Valentinian*'s Government, ſo was it contrary to a receiv'd Maxim he uſually follow'd, which was, ſeverely to puniſh the Common Soldiers upon the leaſt Miſdemeanour, but not ſo much as liſten to any Complaints offer'd againſt the Superior Officers; which Remiſsneſs made 'em proud, inſolent and tyrannical in the ſeveral Provinces, and gave Occaſion to a great many Diſorders: As about this time the Commander in chief in *Illyricum* had, contrary to all Laws of Hoſpitality, perfidiouſly murder'd *Gabinius* King of the *Quadi* at a Feaſt, to which *Gabinius* had in civil Terms been invited by him; upon which the *Quadi*, and other Nations, broke with great Violence into the *Roman* Territories. I know ſome are of Opinion, that *Gabinius* was a *Roman*, and Governor of the Province, and that by his Order the King was Aſſaſſinated; but *Ammianus*, whoſe Authority muſt be of greater Weight in this Caſe, tells us, *Gabinius* was the King, and that *Marcellianus*, Son to *Maximinus*, that cruel Incendiary, was then Governor of the Province; that *Valentinian*, who from the firſt time of his Advancement had been over ſedulous in fortifying the Borders of the Empire, had built Forts over the *Iſter* upon the Territories of the *Quadi*, as if their Country had been within the *Roman* Pale; that the Inhabitants, who were juſtly alarm'd at it, endeavour'd by their Meſſengers to hinder the Proſecution of the Deſign; that *Marcellianus*, who was ſent to command the Army in thoſe Parts by his Father's Procurement, return'd a very civil Anſwer, and invited *Gabinius* the King, and ſome others to a Banquet; and as he was taking his Leave, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of Treachery, got him to be murder'd.

New Troubles in Illyricum.

A. D. 374. At this not only the *Quadi*, but the neighbouring Nations, who made the Caſe their own, were highly

highly incens'd, and uniting themſelves in one Body, they paſs'd the *Danube* with great Fury, fell in the time of Harveſt upon the Reapers, whom they maſſacred in a cruel manner, and return'd loaden with a very great Booty; in this confuſion *Conſtantina*, the Daughter of *Conſtantius*, whom they were then conducting through thoſe Parts in order to be marry'd to *Gratian*, had fallen into their Hands, had not *Meſſala*, Governor of the Province attending her, put her into a Chariot in great haſte, and convey'd her with ſpeed to *Sirmium*, twenty ſix Miles diſtant from thence. In the mean time the Barbarians renew'd their Incurſions to the utter Ruin of ſeveral of the Inhabitants, whom in a cruel manner they led away Captive, having firſt burnt their Houſes and waſted their Poſſeſſions. *Sirmium* it ſelf, the Capital of thoſe Parts, ſeem'd to be in great Danger. *Probus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who the Year before had born the Conſulſhip with *Gratian*, was then Reſident in it; a Man, tho' of Noble Birth, ſo little acquainted with the Terrors of War, that he was amaz'd at the Report of the bloody Slaughters and barbarous Cruelties they had committed; the Noiſe of which encreaſing every Day more, he provided himſelf with ſwift Horſes in order to a ſecret and ſhameful Flight; from this he was, with much ado, diſſuaded by thoſe about him, who repreſented to him how the Soldiers, whoſe Duty it was to defend the Place, would by his Example provide for their own Safety, and ſo quit the City, which muſt unavoidably fall into the Enemy's Hands. After this ſo reaſonable a Remonſtrance he was compell'd by Shame to ſtay, and ſo out of regard to his own Safety, rather than the Publick Good, he took all imaginable Care to put the City in a Poſture of Defence, and was ſo induſtrious

therein, that the Barbarians thought not fit to Attack it, but diverted their Courſe in Purſuit of *Æquitius*, whom they conceiv'd to have been the Contriver of *Gabinius* his Death; and hearing he was retir'd into the remoteſt Parts of *Valeria*, they reſolv'd to follow him; in their Way they met with two Legions, the *Pannonia* and *Mæſiaca*, who were ſent to oppoſe 'em, and were of Strength ſufficient to have reſtrain'd their Fury, had they not fell into an unſeaſonable Contention between themſelves for the Honour of Precedency; this Diſpute ruin'd thoſe, who had they been united would have been invincible; for the Barbarians, who were too cunning not to be ſenſible of their Advantage, without waiting for the Signal of Battel, fell firſt with great Fury upon the *Mæſiacan* Legion, who little expecting ſo ſudden an Onſet, fell in great Numbers before they had time to take to their Arms; this encourag'd the Enemy to break in upon the *Pannonian*, which they quickly routed, killing all thoſe whom the Senſe of their Danger had not by a ſpeedy Flight ſecur'd.

Two Legions cut off by the Barbarians.

The loſs of ſo many Men, which was entirely owing to their own Folly, was in ſome meaſure repair'd by the Succeſs of the Army, which fought under the Conduct of *Theodoſius*, Son of him we lately mention'd, and Governor of *Mœſia*, who with a Courage and Conduct exceeding his Years, defended it againſt the Incurſions of the Barbarians, and worſted 'em ſo often, tho' they thought with Numbers to over-power him, that in Deſpair of any farther Succeſs they begg'd Pardon for what was paſs'd, and Peace for the future; which having obtain'd, they for ſome time religiouſly obſerv'd it, being kept in awe by a Supply of Soldiers ſent out of *Gaul* for the Defence of *Illyricum*. During theſe Diſorders in the North the *Tiber*, through exceſſive Rains,

Rains, overflow'd its Banks to that degree, that all the lower Parts of *Rome* were laid under Water, and the Inhabitants forc'd to ſecure themſelves upon the Hills, where they had periſh'd with Hunger, had not *Claudius*, Præfect of the City, taken Care to have a ſeaſonable Supply ſent 'em in Boats from the Parts adjacent. Theſe Overflowings of the *Tiber* were uſually the Forerunners of ſome Publick Calamity, to which the Empire was now ſo generally accuſtom'd, that the preſent Danger being remov'd the People had no Apprehenſions of the future.

This treacherous peice of Cruelty, exercis'd upon the Perſon of *Gabinius* in the North, was follow'd by an Act equally deteſtable in the Eaſt, where ſome Perſons, who reap'd an Advantage to themſelves from the Publick Confuſions, among whom was *Terentius*, a Commander in the adjacent Parts, continually by their Letters alarm'd the Emperor with the ſiniſter Practices and ambitious Deſigns of *Para* King of *Armenia*, conſtantly reproaching him for the Death of *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, and reviling him as an inſolent Oppreſſor of the People. Hereupon he was invited in a Royal manner to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where when he was arriv'd he was detain'd Priſoner, without Permiſſion to go to the Emperor, or learn the reaſon of his Reſtraint. This unaccountable Proceeding made him more inquiſitive and ſollicitous, eſpecially when by ſecret Intelligence he underſtood that *Terentius* had endeavour'd by Letters to perſuade the *Roman* Governor to ſend ſome other Perſon immediately to be King of *Armenia* in his ſtead, leſt upon his Return into his own Country he ſhould, in Revenge of his ill Uſage, perſuade his Subjects no longer to adhere to the *Roman* Empire, but ſubmit themſelves to the *Perſians*, who ſtood ready upon any Condi-

tions to receive them. This made him conclude, that without timely Care he ſhould be inevitably deſtroy'd, and therefore he reſolv'd upon a ſpeedy Flight, which he attempted with the Aſſiſtance of three hunder'd of his own Subjects in whom he could rely, and who very earneſtly perſuaded him to it. They took care to ſupply him with Horſes fit for his purpoſe, and towards the Evening watching their Opportunity they ſet forward together, guided more by their Courage than Conduct, as it is uſual with Men in any hazardous or emergent Exigency. They were not got clear of the Suburbs before the Governor of the Province overtook 'em, and finding it impoſſible to ſtop him by Force, he endeavour'd by Perſuaſions to detain him; but he found him too reſolute to be prevail'd upon, and therefore deſiſted for fear of drawing his own Life into Danger by too obſtinate an Entreaty. Preſently after he was overtaken by a whole Legion, ſent on purpoſe to hinder his Eſcape, but he fac'd about with ſo much Reſolution, and charg'd 'em with ſo deſperate a Courage, that they made more haſte to fly from him, than they had done to approach him; after this he proceeded without any Diſturbance, and travelling Night and Day for two Days together he at laſt reach'd the *Euphrates*, which he paſs'd with much Difficulty, and after a ſhort Repoſe purſu'd his Journey with extraordinary Diligence. *Valens* having notice of his Eſcape concluded he would infallibly fall off from him, and therefore ſent a thouſand Archers under the Command of two Principal Officers to Waylay him, and bring him back: They being well acquainted with the Country, through which he wander'd an utter Stranger, travell'd through more compendious Roads and overtook him: Having divided their Forces they ſeiz'd on two Paſſes three

Miles

Miles distant from each other, at one of which they thought themselves certain of surprising him. But being inform'd of his Danger by a Traveller, who was coming that Way, he took a by Path, and piercing through a thick Wood he escap'd the Ambuscade, and got safe into his own Kingdom, whilst the *Romans*, who waited a long time for their Prey, were sufficiently laugh'd at for their Pains. This Disappointment was a great Vexation to *Valens*, who grew every Day more and more resolv'd upon his Destruction, and sent private Orders to *Trajan*, who commanded the *Roman* Forces Quarter'd in *Armenia*, by all means to effect it. *Trajan*, in Obedience to his Instructions, readily undertook it, and by degrees wrought himself into so much Credit with the King, by frequenting his Table, and producing Letters from *Valens* full of Expressions of Kindness to *Para*, that he made no scruple of accepting of a Dinner at his House, to which *Trajan* had in a solemn manner invited him. He was receiv'd with the highest Respect, and entertain'd in a Royal manner, and after he had drunk him up to a high pitch, *Trajan*, pretending some necessary Occasions, withdrew, and immediately sent in a Villain provided for the purpose, who cut the young Prince in pieces as he vainly endeavour'd to defend himself, the rest of the Guests flying in great Consternation from so bloody a Banquet.

Para, *King of* Armenia, *treacherously murder'd.*

This inhospitable Proceeding was a great Affliction to *Sapor* King of *Persia*, who conceiv'd he had lost in *Para* a firm Friend and faithful Ally, for such he made no doubt but in time he should have found him; on the other side the *Romans* gather'd Courage, at which he was not a little dismay'd, and therefore he thought it the safest way to propose by his Embassadors to *Valens*, that *Armenia*,

menia, which had been the Cauſe of ſo many Confuſions, might be entirely ruin'd, or at leaſt, that the *Roman* Garriſons might be recall'd out of *Iberia*, and *Aſpacures*, whom he had advanc'd, might be permitted to Reign there without any Diſturbance. To this *Valens* anſwer'd, That he was reſolv'd to ſtand to the late Diviſion of *Iberia*, and ſee the Treaty punctually obſerv'd; and after ſeveral Meſſages and Remonſtrances on one ſide and the other, the Emperor ſent away *Victor* General of the Horſe, and *Urbicius* Governor of *Meſopotamia*, to *Sapor*; who were to aſſure him, that unleſs he ſuffer'd the *Armenians* to be at their own Liberty, and forbore moleſting the *Roman* Garriſon in a Fort call'd *Sauromaces*, he ſhould be forc'd upon ſuch Meaſures as would be no ways agreeable to him. Theſe Inſtructions were juſt and prudent, but the Embaſſadors went beyond their Commiſſion, and imprudently accepted of ſome ſmall Territories that had been offer'd 'em in *Armenia*, and without effecting any thing elſe they return'd home. They were follow'd by another Embaſſador from *Perſia*, whom the Emperor kindly receiv'd, and entertain'd him with much Magnificence, tho' all his Offers were rejected, and *Valens* prepar'd to aſſault *Perſia* with three Armies at once in the beginning of the Spring. *Sapor*, thus diſappointed of his Expectation, was highly exaſperated, but concealing his Indignation, he gave Orders to his Chief Officers by force to recover thoſe Territories the *Roman* Embaſſadors had lately poſſeſs'd themſelves of in the Name of the Emperor, and cut off, if poſſible, the Garriſon in *Sauromaces*, which Orders they executed accordingly. Of all this *Valens* was inform'd, but found himſelf unable to reſent it as he ought; the Empire being threatned by a general Invaſion of the *Gothiſh* Nation, to a Narration of which

which the Courſe of the Hiſtory will in a ſhort time conduct us.

All this while *Valentinian* was employ'd in Building Forts upon the *Rhine*, and waſting the *German* Territories, in which he was often oppos'd with great Vigour by *Macrianus*, King of the Country, a haughty reſolute Prince, but was this Year diverted upon an Information that the Barbarians were in great Numbers Invading *Illyricum*, whoſe Inſolence he was reſolv'd to chaſtiſe, and therefore at an Enterview between him and *Macrianus* upon the *Rhine* near *Mentz*, he concluded a Peace, which the latter kept inviolable 'till his Death. After this he return'd to *Triers*, where he ſpent the Winter in concerting the Meaſures he was to take in order to his Expedition early in the Spring into *Illyricum*, which had been this Year miſerably waſted by the *Sarmatæ* and the *Quadi*; accordingly he advanc'd thither as ſoon as the Winter was over, and was met in the Way by Embaſſadors from the *Sarmatæ*, who in a very ſubmiſſive manner throwing themſelves at his Feet, deſir'd him to entertain a more favourable Opinion of their Nation, who he would find upon Examination were guilty of none of thoſe heavy Accuſations that were urg'd againſt them. After they had often affirm'd the ſame thing he told 'em, that as yet he would determine nothing, but ſuſpend his Judgment 'till his Arrival into thoſe Parts, that were ſaid to have been ſo highly injur'd by 'em. After this he proceeded on to *Cornuntum*, at this Day call'd *Haimberg*, an old decay'd Town of *Illyricum*, ſeated upon the *Danube*, and very convenient for the Defence of the Country. From hence he detach'd *Merobaudes* and *Sebaſtian* with a Party of Foot to waſte the Enemy's Borders, and he himſelf remov'd with great Expedition to a Place call'd *Acincum*, from whence he

he pass'd his Men over the River, and enter'd into the Territories of the *Quadi*, who from the Mountains, whither they had retir'd with their Wives and Children upon the first notice of his Approach, in great Consternation beheld the Motion of his Army. After his detach'd Parties had scower'd the Plains, killing all they met straggling behind, and burnt their Houses, he return'd in safety with his whole Army to *Acincum*, where he continu'd 'till the Year was almost spent, desiring to find out some convenient Winter Quarters in those frozen Tracts, but could meet with none so proper as *Sabaria*, call'd at present *Sarvar*, tho' he found that far from being convenient, or suitable to his Wishes, and therefore he continu'd his March along the River side 'till he came to *Bregetio*, where he was admonish'd of his approaching End by several Omens; for a few Days before Blazing Stars were seen, which in *Ammianus* his Opinion forerun the Downfal of great Persons. At *Sirmium*, the Palace, Court and Forum were burnt by Lightning; and whilst he was at *Sabaria* an Owl Perch'd upon the top of his Bath, singing a melancholy Dirge, and was not to be frighted or forc'd away by the Multitude, who assaulted it very earnestly with Darts and Stones. As he was marching from that Place, he resolv'd to pass out at the same Gate he enter'd, intending to signifie by it that he should quickly return in Safety to *Gaul*; but as they were clearing it of some Rubbish, which through a long Neglect it had contracted, the *Portcullis* fell, nor could all the Endeavours they us'd raise it again, so that after they had lost much time about it, he was forc'd to go out at another Gate. The Night before he dy'd he thought he saw his Wife, who was then absent, sitting by him in a melancholy Posture, with her Hair dishevell'd, and in a mournful Habit,

Several Omens preceding the Death of Valentinian.

which

which *Ammianus* fancies was his Genius, then in that diſconſolate manner forſaking him. In the Morning he appear'd with a heavy dejected Countenance, and his Horſe, whilſt he was going to mount, bounding with ungovernable Fury, as if it diſdain'd to receive him, he commanded his Querry's right Hand to be cut off, becauſe he unwillingly gave him a Blow as he was ſtruggling to place him in the Saddle; this was agreeable to the Cruelty of his Nature, and had been undoubtedly executed upon his faithful Servant, had not *Cerealis*, Maſter of the Horſe, at the Hazard of his own Life deferr'd the Execution.

After this came the Embaſſadors from the *Quadi*, humbly ſuing for a Peace, and an Act of Oblivion for what was paſt; which that they might in ſome meaſure deſerve, they offer'd a Supply of Soldiers, and ſuch other Matters as they thought at that time agreeable to the Emperor's Affairs. *Valentinian* having conſider'd of the Motion thought it reaſonable to give 'em Audience, and they were thereupon admitted into the Conſiſtory, where they were commanded to declare what they had to ſay. They with their Bodies bent to the Ground in token of Submiſſion, declared upon Oath, that the late Devaſtations were not to be conſider'd as a publick Act of the whole Nation, but committed by ſome Free-Booters living upon the Borders, without the Knowledge or Conſent of the chief Men in the Country; and that they had been provok'd to it by the Fort lately built upon their Territories by the Emperor's Order, contrary to the Rules of Juſtice and the *Roman* Intereſt. *Valentinian* was extremely incens'd at this Diſcourſe, and in a high Paſſion upbraided their whole Nation as thankleſs and ungrateful, vowing to be ſeverely reveng'd upon 'em; but in the midſt of his Diſcourſe ſunk down upon his

his Seat like one ſtruck from Heaven, and ſeem'd to have loſt both Life and Voice together. They about him convey'd him carefully into his Chamber, and laid him on his Bed, where he was ſeiz'd with Convulſion Fits, and violent Contorſions of his Limbs, in the Agonies of which he breath'd out his laſt, in the Five and Fiftieth Year of his Age, and Twelfth of his Reign, *A. D.* 375. after the Third Conſulſhip of *Gratian* and of *Æquitius*: For tho' *Auſonius* has aſſign'd *Pontius Paulinus* for Conſul this Year, yet it is agreed on all Hands, that the Wars with which the Empire was attack'd or threaten'd on every ſide, prevented that Annual Deſignation.

The Death of Valentinian.

Various are the Accounts of this Emperor's Death; even *Ammianus* is inconſiſtent with himſelf, or at leaſt his Interpreters have made him ſo. Some will have it, that he imputes his Death to the ſudden Stoppage of the Blood, others to the violent Guſhing of it forth, which agrees better with the reſt of the Text, and other Authors who have written of the ſame Subject; who have left us this Account of it: That after he had given the Embaſſadors Audience, he was affronted at the Meanneſs of their Equipage and their beggarly Appearance, demanding with ſome Heat, if their Country afforded Men of no better Quality, that were more fit to appear before him. He was anſwer'd, that he had now in his Preſence the very beſt of the Nation; whereupon he fell into a violent Paſſion, vehemently lamenting his own and the Misfortune of the *Roman* People, who had to do with ſo beggarly a Nation, that not content to live within their own Bounds, had the Arrogance to riſe up in Arms, and affront the Majeſty of the Empire. This he deliver'd with ſo much Violence, that, according to *Socrates*, he open'd every Vein in his Body, and brake the Arteries aſunder, out of

of which iſſu'd ſo large a Flux of Blood, that he inſtantly dy'd, in the Caſtle call'd at that time *Bergetio*, ſuppos'd to be what we now call *Gran*.

Thus dy'd *Valentinian*, after a Reign of Twelve Years wanting an Hundred Days, during which he apply'd himſelf diligently to the Defence of the Borders, the reinforcing of his Army, building of new Forts where any were wanting, and repairing the old ones upon the *Rhine*, ſo that not an Enemy could paſs undiſcover'd into the *Roman* Territories. He was generally ſucceſsful againſt the *Germans*, and put a ſtop to the Devaſtations made by the *Saxons*, a People no leſs greedy of Blood than Plunder, whom he forc'd firſt to ſue for Peace, and afterwards by a Stratagem that had more of Profit than Honour in it, procur'd them all to be cut off. By his Lieutenants in this Iſland he ſettled the Affairs of *Britain*; he ſuppreſs'd *Valentine* a *Pannonian* Exile, who was deſigning to diſturb the Publick Tranquility, before it was well known what he was attempting: He reſtor'd the Peace of *Africk*, after it had been violently ſhock'd by the Inſurrection of *Firmus* and the Barbarians, and he was in a fair way of effecting the ſame in *Illyricum*, had he not been ſuddenly ſnatch'd off by Death.

His Character.

From what hath been ſaid, the Reader will eaſily form to himſelf a Character of this Prince, and muſt own that his greateſt Fault was Cruelty; which was attended by another of no leſs Conſequence, and to which Men of his implacable, vindicative Temper are ſeldom ſubject, an over Credulity, which expos'd him to the Artifices of his mercenary Courtiers, who miſerably impos'd on his Underſtanding, barring him up from the Acceſs of Perſons of Learning and Fidelity. He was covetous to a high degree, a Vice ſome Excuſe in him from the Neceſſity the State lay under by reaſon of the Wars in

Perſia,

Persia, which had very much exhausted the Publick Treasury, and put him upon many violent and illegal ways of raising Mony. He had so high an Opinion of his own Accomplishments, that he hated all who were eminent for Learning, Riches, Nobility, Valour, or so much as a genteel Fancy in their Dress. He pretended himself a great Enemy to all Cowards, and yet appeared timorous and dejected upon every trivial Occasion or groundless Report. In the Choice of his Judges he generally had regard to Men of Temper and Æquanimity, but if he accidentally promoted any of a cruel relentless Disposition, he would presently cry out they were so many *Cassii* or *Lycurgi*, and encouraged them in their rigorous Proceedings. These are the greatest Vices and Imperfections with which this Emperor is charged, and are abundantly out-weigh'd by his Virtues, which seem'd to render him worthy that high Sphere in which he moved. He may be said to have been a Father to the Provinces, for whose Safety he provided in the many Forts and Castles he built upon the Borders, at the same time easing them as much as he could in the Abatement of their Taxes. He might have pass'd for an exact Observer of Military Discipline, had he not been too partial to the General Officers, who abus'd his Favours, and gave a Beginning to those Commotions in *Britain*, *Africk*, and *Illyricum*. Tho' he had many Relations, who upon his Advancement expected mighty Preferments, yet he indulg'd none of 'em any farther than consisted with the publick Interest, preferring none to any considerable Posts, his Brother *Valens* except, whom in a time of Danger he assum'd for his Collegue, and with whom he reign'd in perfect Concord. He was excellent at the Invention of new sorts of Arms; and having from his Youth been inur'd to Hardship, he knew admirably well

well how to manage, govern and conduct an Army. He was very careful in the Disposal of the greatest Offices, suffering no Places to be bought or sold during his Government, or any to be preferr'd to the Command of a Province, who were concern'd in the Management of the publick Mony. In his Entertainments he was splendid but not profuse, in his Person comely, in his Conversation agreeable, of a vast Memory and ready Elocution, knowing well how to accommodate himself to all Times and Occasions. As he was very chaste himself, so he endeavour'd by his Example to propagate that Virtue throughout his Court, and wherever he came. As to his Religion, he constantly adher'd to the Orthodox Faith, in that Diversity of Opinions which at that time divided the World: But avoiding all Disputes, he suffer'd the rest of his Subjects to follow their own Persuasions without any Molestation. He is blamed by the Ecclesiastical Writers, for permitting his Brother to persecute with so much Rigour the Catholick Believers; but we may say in his behalf, that the Condition of his Affairs would not allow him in Prudence openly to oppose *Valens*, lest the Heat of their Disputes had kindled up a Civil War in the Empire, which at that time would infallibly have destroy'd it.

XVII. *Valentinian* being dead, his Body with due Care was prepar'd to be sent to *Constantinople*, there to be deposited among his Imperial Predecessors, whilst the great Officers of the Court were under uneasie Apprehensions, and uncertain what an Accident so extraordinary might produce, especially they who knew the inconstant and haughty Temper of the *Gallick* Soldiers, had great reason to be afraid of some unseasonable Commotions; and the rather because *Gratian*, who knew nothing of what

had happen'd was then abſent at *Triers*, where his Father had order'd him to reſide during this Expedition. After ſome Conſultation between themſelves, they agreed to ſend for *Merobaudes* in the Emperor's Name, who had the Command of thoſe Soldiers, to come to him, as if he had been ſtill living; *Merobaudes* either ſuſpecting what had happen'd, or being inform'd of it by the Meſſenger who was ſent to him, pretended to the Soldiers that Orders were come from the Emperor to lead 'em back to the *Rhine*, where the Barbarians began again to be up in Arms; and purſuant to his Inſtructions he ſent *Sebaſtian* far out of the way, who was a Man of a quiet eaſie Temper, but in great Eſteem with the Army, and therefore the more to be fear'd in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture. When he arriv'd at the Camp it was reſolv'd in Council, that *Valentinian*, the Son of the Deceas'd, ſhould be declared Emperor. He was then at an hundred Miles diſtance, living in a Village call'd *Murocincta* with his Mother *Juſtina*, *Valentinian*'s ſecond Wife, whom he marry'd after the Deceaſe of the Empreſs *Severa*; ſo that *Socrates* his Story muſt fall to the Ground, who accuſes *Valentinian* of Polygamy, and makes him Author of a Law, whereby every Man had the Liberty of having two Wives at a time if he was ſo inclined. He tells us *Juſtina*, whilſt ſhe was a Virgin, became acquainted with the Empreſs *Severa*, who admitted her into the ſame Bath with her ſelf, where ſhe could not but ſee and admire her extraordinary Beauty, which ſhe extoll'd in a high meaſure to her Husband *Valentinian*, who immediately marry'd her, without divorcing *Severa* the Mother of *Gratian*, whom he had aſſociated with him in the Imperial Dignity but juſt before. As he is miſtaken in the matter of Fact, ſo is he in the Quality of *Juſtina*, who was no Virgin, but *Magnentius* the

the Tyrant's Widow. Beſides this *Valentinian* ſhe had three Daughters by the Emperor, two of which dy'd Virgins, but the third, call'd *Galla*, was afterwards marry'd to *Theodoſius* the Great.

Valentinian was then a Child, not above four Years of Age, ſaith *Ammianus*, tho' others affirm he was nine, and that he was born in *Febr.* 366. *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus* being Conſuls; in which *Idatius*, the Author of the *Alexandrine* Chronicle, *Themiſtius*, and moſt of our Modern Writers after 'em, agree: But if *Ammianus* is right in his Account, we muſt allow that there were two young Princes of the ſame Name, and that he who was born in 366, was not the ſame with him who was created *Auguſtus* in 375. This will appear more than probable, if we conſider that not only *Ammianus*, but *Victor*, *Zonaras* and *Zozimus* affirm, that *Valentinian*, who was made Emperor at his Father's Death was but four Years old, or thereabouts: *Nicephorus* ſaith he dy'd when he was twenty, and it's agreed on all Hands that he was kill'd, *An. Dom.* 392. which could not poſſibly be, if he had been born in 366. In a word, *Valentinian Junior*, who was born in 366, was Conſul together with *Aurelius Victor* in 369. Now had he been the ſame with him who ſucceeded his Father in the Empire, and was created Conſul with *Valens* three Years after, the Year had been diſtinguiſh'd in the Tables by his *Second Conſulſhip*, which it is not, tho' *Helvicus* in his Chronology has follow'd the general Opinion. From all which it appears, as was obſerv'd before, that there were two of the ſame Name, one the Son of *Valens*, the other of *Valentinian*.

But to return to the Courſe of the Hiſtory: According to the Reſolution taken in Council, *Cerealis*, Uncle to this young Prince, was ſent with all Expedition for him; who conducted him to the

Valentinian, *Son to the late Emperor, declared* Auguſtus.

Camp, where in a ſolemn manner he was declared Emperor, the ſixth Day after his Father's Death. Moſt Men concluded *Gratian* would be highly offended at a Promotion confirm'd without his Knowledge or Conſent, who notwithſtanding lived ever after in a very peaceable manner with him; behaving himſelf in this matter like a prudent Man, or rather cheriſhing his Brother with too much Fondneſs and Reſpect.

The Hunns *invade the Empire.*

In the mean time a cruel Storm began to gather to an head in the Eaſt, which not only occaſion'd the Death of *Valens*, but fell in a violent manner upon the whole Empire. It was firſt rais'd by the *Hunns*, a Nation almoſt unknown to the *Romans* 'till then, inhabiting that part of *Scythia* which lay upon the Ocean beyond the Fenns of *Mœotis*, call'd at preſent *Tartary*. They were a fierce ſavage People, ignorant of the Uſe of Fire, feeding altogether on Roots of Herbs, or ſuch Fleſh as was chafed betwixt their Thighs and their Horſes Sides; without Houſes, wand'ring from Place to Place, ſpreading themſelves ſometimes on the Mountains, at others deſcending into the Vallies, and living like Brutes, on whom Nature through a Miſtake had conferr'd Human Shapes; from their Infancy accuſtomed to endure the Inconveniencies of Cold and Hunger, having their Cheeks mangled as ſoon as they were born to prevent Beards, in the want of which they reſembled Eunuchs, but in appearance were moſt terrible and ghaſtly. Their Cloaths were either Linnen, or the Skins of a ſort of Mice, which they tack'd together, and wore at home and abroad, awake and aſleep, without any Change, 'till they dropp'd aſunder. Their Legs were cover'd with Goat-skins, and their Feet with an ill-ſhapen unfaſhionable Shoe, which cramp'd 'em up when they walk'd, and render'd 'em unfit for Foot-Service, their

their Genius inclining 'em more to the Horſe, in which manner of Engagements they excell'd, fighting uſually in Parties drawn up like Wedges; quick in their Onſets, diſorderly in their Retreats, furious and diſcompos'd in their Purſuits, tho' they always avoided attacking the Camp of the Enemy. Having no King they liv'd under no Government, following the Conduct of their Nobility (if they had any ſuch among 'em) whom they obey'd no longer than they thought fit. They were no more to be truſted in Times of Peace than in War, beginning the one without any Provocation, and concluding the other without any Forecaſt. They had no Senſe of Religion, nor that Child of Ignorance, Superſtition, but liv'd in common with a promiſcuous uſe of Women, with whom they for the moſt part coupl'd openly, or if at any time they retir'd, their Quivers were hung out to let their Neighbours know what they were doing, that they might meet with no Diſturbance.

Theſe *Hunns* were near Neighbours to the *Alani*, who inhabited *Scythia* beyond *Tanais*, a River by which *Europe* is ſeparated from *Aſia*; like the *Hunns*, and the reſt of the *Scythians*, they wander'd up and down in their Waggons, never Tilling their Ground, but feeding on raw Fleſh and Milk; they drove their Cattle in great Herds before 'em, and when they were arriv'd at any pleaſant Paſturage, with which the Country abounded, there they continu'd 'till it was all conſum'd, and then they went forward with their moveable Cities, 'till they met with freſh Forage, accounting every Place they came at their Native Home. A People impatient of Eaſe, continually buſied in Wars and Dangers, eſteeming him only happy who dy'd in the Field, and reviling them as idle and degenerate Perſons whom any Accident had deſtroy'd, or Age led

down in peace to the Grave. All their Religion consisted in a naked Sword, which they stuck fast into the Ground, and worshipp'd under the Name of *Mars*, the Great Protector of the Regions they inhabited; in most respects they resembl'd the *Hunns*, only they appear'd to have been of a more civiliz'd Conversation. They were said to have a strange way of foretelling things to come; they lopt a Bough from off a bearing Tree, which they cut into several peices; these peices they distinguish'd by certain Marks, throwing 'em at random upon a White Linnen Garment; after which the Priest, if it was a Publick Concern, if not, the Master of the Houshold, invoking the Deity they worshipp'd, took each peice up in a solemn manner thrice together, and from the Coherence the Marks before imprinted bore each to the other, they collected their Divination. The name of Slavery was not known among 'em, being all accounted of Noble Birth; and those Persons had the Administration of their Affairs as their Officers and Judges, who were of most Experience in the Wars.

Into the Territories of these People did the *Hunns* break with great Violence, and having spoil'd the Country, and laid all waste before 'em, they forc'd those of the Nation, who had out-liv'd their Cruelty, to enter into an Alliance with 'em, by which means having reinforc'd themselves, they fell with incredible Impetuosity upon the *Gothick* Nations, assaulting first the Dominions of *Ermenrich* or *Ermanaric*, who tho' a Martial Prince, yet struck with Consternation at so unexpected an Attempt, put an end to his Troubles by a voluntary Death; after this they fell upon *Athanaric*, he who had assisted *Procopius* in his late Usurpation, who had resolv'd to stand upon his Guard, and was prepar'd for a vigorous Resistance; but the *Hunns* falling

falling upon him unawares, he was forc'd to fly to the Mountains, after he had loſt ſome of his Men; from whence he paſs'd in great Conſternation down to the *Danube*, where he rais'd Fortifications to defend himſelf from any farther Attempts. The *Hunns*, whoſe great Booty had render'd 'em incapable of any haſty Purſuit, were in the mean time grown ſo terrible to the reſt of the *Goths*, that they thought of removing from a Storm which they ſaw rolling irreſiſtibly upon 'em, and reſolv'd upon *Thrace*, both for that it was a fertile Country, and was ſeparated by the *Iſter* from thoſe Tracts which lay expos'd to the Fury of the *Hunns*. Having therefore ſeiz'd on the Banks of the *Danube*, under the Conduct of *Alavivus*, they ſent their Orators to *Valens*, by whom, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, they begg'd leave to be admitted into *Thrace*, where they promis'd to live peaceably in Subjection to the Empire, to whom they would be ready to ſend Aid upon all Occaſions.

Tho' the Rumour of theſe ſtrange Commotions in the Northern Parts ought to have ſtruck all Men with Admiration, as well as Terror, yet they were at firſt but little regarded at Court, which hitherto the Report of any Wars in thoſe remote Regions could hardly reach before they had been finiſh'd, and the Fear of 'em was over; but when they ſaw the Embaſſadors from the *Goths*, and knew the Subſtance of their Embaſſy, all Wiſe Men were ſurpriz'd to hear ſuch vaſt Multitudes of Barbarians ſhould hover about the Banks of the *Iſter*, driven out of the Country by People more barbarous than themſelves. And yet there were not wanting ſome Sycophants about the Perſon of the Emperor, who had the Impudence to flatter him, and Extol his good Fortune upon this Occaſion, which had un-

expectedly brought him a perpetual Supply of Soldiers, with which he could be furnish'd at his Pleasure out of *Thrace*, and thereby save the Expence of new Levies, to the no small Benefit of his Treasury: The imaginary Prospect of this Advantage made him, without any farther Consideration, give Order for their immediate Transportation, which was done with so much Care and Diligence, as if it had been a Sin to leave any Person, who was to be concern'd in the Subversion of the *Roman* Empire, behind: For several Nights and Days together, without any Intermission, did they come over in such Multitudes, that they, who were appointed to see the Business effected, were in no manner able to compute their Numbers, exceeding, saith *Ammianus*, the Sands upon the *Libyan* Shore. Destruction follow'd close upon their Heels, and spread it self like a Contagion, infecting what it fed on. But what contributed as much as any thing to the Desolations that follow'd soon after, was the Corruption and Insufficiency of the Governors Commanding then in the Provinces, who by their Covetousness basely eluded the Emperor's Orders, who had ordain'd that none should be admitted 'till they had been first disarm'd; but these Officers, more intent upon their own private Gain and Satisfaction, suffer'd themselves to be impos'd upon by the Barbarians, who corrupted 'em with Presents of their finest Women, most beautiful Boys, and stoutest Slaves, and so were permitted to come over arm'd as they thought fit themselves. *Eunapius* saith likewise, that the Emperor's Intent was to have the Children of both Sexes first transported, who were to be dispos'd as Hostages throughout the Provinces of the Empire, and Pledges of their good Behaviour, which prudent Design was unhappily

The Goths *admitted into* Thrace

happily fruſtrated by the mercenary Conduct of thoſe treacherous Officers. This memorable Paſſage, which ſo largely contributed to the Downfal of the Empire, happen'd when *Valens*, the Fifth time, and *Valentinian* were Conſuls, in the laſt Year of the 288th *Olympiad*, the 1128th Year of *Rome*, and 28 Years after the firſt Diviſion of the Empire, *An. Dom.* 376.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Admiſſion of the Goths *into* Thrace, *to the Death of* Theodoſius *the Great.*

Containing about the Space of 19 *Years.*

I. IT's obſervable that a State ſubſiſts and flouriſhes no longer, than whilſt it cultivates and improves the Means to which it ow'd its Riſe and Progreſs. The firſt *Romans* were plain, hearty and ſincere, they went to the Wars with Honour, and return'd with Succeſs, and their very Enemies reap'd the Benefit of their Victories as well as themſelves; for their Virtue always protected thoſe whom their Valour had ſubdu'd. They fought for Dominion, but not for Tyranny, and choſe rather to be Lov'd than Fear'd; this made the Provinces chearful in their Submiſſion, hearty in their Contributions, and unwavering in their Obedience. In a Word, it is not ſo much to be admir'd, that from ſo ſmall a Beginning they ſhould riſe to ſuch a ſtupendious Height, as that ſo many Qualities productive of a real Greatneſs ſhould be found united in one People, diffuſing themſelves with ſo exact a Tenor throughout every Part, as to make up the very Life and Being of the whole. How much the *Romans*, who liv'd in the Age we are now writing of, were fallen off from that Original Perfection, I leave the Reader to imagine; they were grown Effeminate, Factious, Proud and Inconſiderate; the Court was become debauch'd, the Camp licentious, and the Commonalty obſtinate and mutinous;

tinous; they were so far from pushing on to new Conquests, that they were not able to maintain and defend their Hereditary Acquisitions; the Constitution was grown old and crazy, and had lost so much of its natural Vigor, that it must in course have dropp'd of it self without receiving an Enemy into its Bowels, that cruelly shook and tore it into pieces; but as some of her ancient Citizens chose to provoke Death by a Sword or Poison, rather than wait its leisure under the Fatigues of a painful lingring Distemper; so that State, grown old and infirm, may be said to have chosen a violent Subversion, rather than a natural Dissolution.

As it was the greatest piece of madness to receive so many Barbarians into the Heart of the Empire, so was it an equal madness to provoke and exasperate 'em after they had been admitted. *Lupicinus* and *Maximus* were at this time Commanders in Chief throughout *Thrace*, and by their pernicious Practices hasten'd the Ruin of their Country. The Barbarians stood in want of all manner of Provisions, and being bitterly pinch'd with Hunger made their Applications to these Officers, who got all the Dogs they could together, and exchang'd 'em for so many Men, amongst whom were the Sons of the first Nobility, whom with the rest they took for their Slaves; besides *Lupicinus* had dealt treacherously with them in several Respects, betraying his Trust, and oppressing 'em upon every Occasion. These Practices irritated a People, easie enough to be provok'd, and made 'em catch at the first Opportunity they met with to be reveng'd, with which *Lupicinus* himself presented 'em not long after. The Chief Captains of these People were *Alavivus* and *Fritigern*, Men of Courage and Resolution, who had formerly acted with much Vigour and Animosity against the Empire: These Commanders *Lupi-*

cinus

cinus invited to Dinner at *Marcianopolis*, where he then resided; and left the ordinary sort at the same time should press upon him for Provisions, of which they stood in great need, he order'd the Guard to keep 'em off from the Gates of the City, whither they desir'd to be admitted as Friends, to buy them Necessaries; betwixt these People and the *Romans* there happen'd a sharp Dispute, in which the *Romans* were slain and stripp'd by the Barbarians. *Lupicinus* was no sooner acquainted with it, but he caus'd all the Attendants, waiting upon the two Princes, in the midst of their Mirth to be murder'd, of which when they without the Walls were inform'd, they fell into a great Rage, vowing all manner of Revenge, concluding their Kings would be detain'd Prisoners by the Governor. Of this *Fritigern*, who indeed was afraid he should be secur'd as an Hostage, made a good use; for he earnestly press'd to be dismiss'd, that he might compose and pacifie his Soldiers, whereupon he was discharg'd together with *Alavivus*; for by this time *Lupicinus* was got so Drunk that he knew not what he did; whilst they made haste to their Countrymen, to whom they came unexpected, and were receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction. This Advantage they all agreed to improve, and consulted together how they might best raise a War, and be reveng'd upon the *Romans*. They were presently join'd by all the *Gothick* Nations, who fell with great Fury upon the Country, wasting all with Fire and Sword. *Lupicinus*, alarm'd at so dangerous an Insurrection, march'd out against 'em with more Fury than Discretion, and drew up his Army with a Resolution to engage the Barbarians, who watching their Opportunity attack'd the *Romans* with much Bravery, cutting most of them off together with their Commanders, whilst the General with great Precipitation

The Romans defeated by the Goths.

tion fled back into the City. This Defeat was attended with a greater Miſchief, for the Barbarians were hereby ſupply'd with *Roman* Arms, and ravag'd the Country round about without any Oppoſition. And as great Armies very often occaſion a Famine and Peſtilence, ſo at this time both the one and the other raged very violently in many Parts of the Empire.

A. D. 377. *They beſiege* Adrianople.

Theſe Advantages made the *Goths* more bold and outragious; for not content to be Maſters of the Field, they went and laid Siege to *Adrianople*, being ſometime before join'd by a Body of Forces under the Conduct of *Sueridus* and *Colias*, two Princes of their own Nation, who with their Troops had been long ſince admitted by the Emperor, and appointed to quarter near that City; and laying hold of this Opportunity, were, upon ſome ſmall Provocations receiv'd from the Townſmen, reſolv'd to run the Fortune of their Countrymen. They had not been long before the Town, before they found the Difficulty of their Undertaking, and were advis'd by *Fritigern* to quit the Siege, and content themſelves with the Plunder of the wealthy Province, where they were like to meet with no Oppoſition, and which would turn more to their Advantage than a War with Walls. Leaving therefore a ſufficient Force to block up the Town, they ranged all over *Thrace*, growing daily ſtronger by the Acceſſion of freſh Numbers that came in to 'em. By this means the Province was reduced to a moſt miſerable Condition, for they ſpared neither Sex nor Age, plucking the Infants from their Mothers Breaſts, who whilſt they were lamenting the Death of their Husbands ſaw their Children murder'd before their Faces. What the Sword had ſpar'd the Fire deſtroy'd, and they ſeem'd the moſt miſerable, whom Fortune, not

the

the Mercy of the Barbarians, had permitted to die laſt.

All this while *Valens* was at *Antioch*, intent upon the King of *Perſia*'s Deſigns, and as narrowly obſerv'd by him. Upon his firſt Notice of theſe dangerous Commotions, he was at a loſs what Courſe to take; he ſent away *Victor*, General of the Horſe, to compoſe Matters in the beſt manner he could with the *Perſians*; and reſolving to remove to *Conſtantinople*, he ſent *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, two of his Generals, before him. They were Men of more Ambition than Conduct, for inſtead of endeavouring by Stratagem to cut off and ſtarve ſuch Multitudes of Men that fill'd the Mountains and cover'd all the Vallies, they inconſiderately engag'd 'em to their own Coſt, depending too much upon the Legions drawn out of *Armenia*, who indeed were good Soldiers, but unable to make Head againſt ſuch Swarms of the Enemy; at length they drove 'em up beyond the Mountain of *Hæmus*, where they ſeiz'd upon all the Paſſes, hoping to block 'em up, and deſtroy 'em by Famine, at leaſt 'till the *Pannonian* and *Tranſalpine* Auxiliaries could join 'em, who had Orders from *Gratian* to march, under the Conduct of *Frigeride*, to their Aſſiſtance. *Gratian* at the ſame time ſent *Richomeres* with ſome Forces out of *Gaul*, but the Soldiers deſerted in great Numbers as they were upon the March, ſollicited to it, as it was reported, by *Merobaudes*, who was afraid ſo ſtrong a Detachment would leave the Borders too much expos'd: So that *Richomeres* join'd with *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, but to little or no effect; for *Frigeride* was ſeiz'd with the Gout, or, as his Enemies would have it believ'd, pretended Sickneſs, and kept himſelf out of Danger; tho' his eminent Services not long after leave little room for ſuch a Suſpicion.

Richo-

Richomeres having join'd *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, the Army march'd to a Place call'd *Salices*, where the Enemy then lay. Here both Parties engaged, and fought with ſo much Obſtinacy, that Night alone put an end to the Controverſie, and the *Romans* retir'd, after the Loſs of a great many Men, to *Marcianople*; tho' it is not eaſie to determine who had the better of the Day, for the Enemy kept themſelves cloſe ſeven Days together among the Carriages, not daring to ſtir out, or purſue the *Romans* in their Retreat; 'till they had allur'd the *Hunns* and *Alans* to join with them; and then like a mighty Flood they bore down all before them, ſpreading themſelves over all the Coaſt of *Thrace*, as far as from the *Iſter* to the Mountain *Rhodope*, devouring like a Plague all they met, and ſcattering Deſtruction on every ſide. At a Place call'd *Dibaltum* they fell upon *Barzimeres*, Tribune of the *Scutarii*, who was encamp'd there with his own Legion, and ſeveral other Parties of Foot. *Barzimeres* was an old experienc'd Commander, and knew well enough the Danger he was in; and therefore drawing his Men up into a cloſe Body, he endeavour'd to force his Way through the Enemies Squadrons, and maintain'd the Fight ſo long that he deſtroy'd a great Number of the Barbarians, but was at length overpower'd with freſh Supplies, and cut in pieces together with the whole Party. Animated by this Advantage, which had coſt 'em very dear, they went in queſt of *Frigeride*, who was now come by the Emperor's Order into *Thrace*, and was poſted near *Beræa*. He was too cautious to hazard his Army againſt an Enemy that exceeded him ſo much in Numbers of Men, and therefore drew over the Mountains into *Illyricum*; but in his Retreat met with an Adventure with which he was much elevated. He fell in with *Farnobius*, one of the *Gothick*

A Roman Legion cut off.

Cap-

A Party of the Goths *defeated.*

Captains, who was at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Troops, whom he engaged and defeated, killing the Commander upon the Spot, together with the reſt of his Army, except ſome who cry'd out for Quarter; them in pity he ſpared, diſpoſing of 'em about *Mutina Rhegium*, and *Parma* in *Italy*, where they were employ'd in the Tillage of the Ground.

A. D. 378. Whilſt *Thrace* was thus cruelly infeſted by the *Goths*, other Parts of the Empire labour'd under the ſame Calamities; for the whole Body of the *German* Nation, knowing the greateſt part of the Imperial Forces were march'd into *Illyricum*, whither the Emperor *Gratian* was preparing to follow, they, to the number of Forty Thouſand, or upwards, paſs'd over the *Rhine* upon the Ice, and broke into the Borders of *Gaul*. *Gratian* hereupon recall'd the Troops he had order'd to march into *Pannonia*, and at *Argentaria*, call'd at preſent *Colmar* in *Alſace*, gave the *Germans* ſo entire a Defeat, that not above Five Thouſand eſcap'd; among the reſt, *Priarius*, or *Priamus*, their King, the chief Promoter of the War, was ſlain.

The Germans *up in Arms,*

are defeated.

Gratian was highly pleas'd with this Succeſs, which redounded much to his Reputation; and now his Thoughts were bent towards the Eaſt, whither he was reſolv'd to march in Perſon to the Aſſiſtance of his Uncle *Valens*: But that he might leave no Enemy, capable of making any Diſturbance in his Abſence, behind him, he had a mind firſt to puniſh the *Lentienſes*, a People of *Germany* bordering upon *Rhætia*, who broke the League, and gave a Beginning to the late War. He therefore march'd his Army over the *Rhine* with all the Secreſie imaginable, intending by Surprize if poſſible to conquer, or extirpate ſo inconſtant and faithleſs a People. The *Lentienſes* being inform'd of his ſudden Approach,

were

were in a great Conſternation what to do; after a ſhort Deliberation they remov'd with their Families, and whatever elſe they could bear off with them, into the Mountains, where they fortify'd themſelves with great Precipitation, reſolving to make good the Place at the Hazard of their Lives. Hither *Gratian* follow'd 'em, and finding upon Trial that they were not eaſily to be remov'd, he block'd 'em up, and ſo reſolv'd by degrees to ſtarve 'em. Of this the *Germans* were quickly ſenſible, and therefore they broke up without much Concern, and remov'd to other Mountains, higher and more inacceſſible than the former. They were no ſooner gone, but *Gratian* mov'd after 'em, and endeavouring to diſcover the Paſſes that led to the Top of the Hills, he gave 'em to underſtand what they were to expect from him. They imagin'd by this his obſtinate Reſolution, that nothing would ſatisfie him but their Deſtruction; whereupon they ſurrender'd themſelves, and in a very ſubmiſſive manner begg'd his Pardon, which was granted them upon Condition they deliver'd up their Youth, who ſerv'd to recruit the *Roman* Army. By this laſt Advantage the Weſtern Nations were reſtrain'd for the preſent, and now *Gratian* was at leiſure to purſue his intended Expedition into the Eaſt, whither the Fame of his late Exploits was gone before him. He had indeed gain'd much upon his Subjects by his generous Carriage, being a Youth of great Hopes, well diſpos'd, Eloquent, Courteous, and Liberal.

Gratian begins his March into the Eaſt.

Having ſettled all his Affairs in *Gaul*, he began his March, and mov'd with great Expedition by *Lauriacum*, call'd at preſent *Lork*, to the Aſſiſtance of his Uncle. In the mean time, whilſt *Frigeride* was behaving himſelf with great Prudence and Caution, and fortifying the Straights of *Succi*, a Place of the greateſt Importance, he was unaccountably

dismiss'd from his Employment, at a season when such a Man ought to have been courted to the Service, and been entrusted in the highest Commands. This was a great Loss to the Army, and was aggravated by the Inabilities of *Maurus* who succeeded him, being a Man of a quite contrary Temper, rash, sullen, and inconstant.

Valens was by this time arriv'd at *Constantinople*, where he discharged *Trajan* from any farther Service, and made *Sebastian* General of the Foot. He was a brave experienc'd Commander, bed up in the Army, to which his Inclinations led him, from his Youth; and was now detach'd by the Emperor with a good Body of Forces under his Command against the Barbarians, lying then with a great Booty about *Berœa* and *Nicopolis*. At *Adrianople* he refresh'd his Men, and issuing out the next Day, he fell undiscover'd upon a Party of the *Goths*, who without any apprehensions of an Enemy were roving about the River *Hebrus*, whom in great Numbers he kill'd, and recover'd their Plunder. *Fritigern* was much perplex'd at this unexpected Defeat, and fearing left the rest of his Countrymen, roving about the Country, should fall into *Sebastian*'s Hands, he gave 'em Orders to join him with all speed, and march'd towards the Coasts of *Cabyle*.

Sebastian *defeats a Party of the* Goths.

During these Occurrences in *Thrace*, *Gratian* had inform'd his Uncle of the Success of his Arms against the *Germans*, and was by this time come to *Sirmium*, where he stay'd four Days to refresh his Army, and then proceeded along the *Danube* to a Fort call'd *Castra Martis*, having in his March lost some of his Men through the sudden Incursions of the Barbarians, and being himself afflicted all the while by an Ague.

Valens by this time began to think his own Reputation eclips'd by that of his young Nephew, and there-

therefore resolv'd to do something that might equal his Exploits against the *Germans*. This Emulation, had it been rightly conceiv'd, might have been of great use to the publick Affairs, but it made *Valens* hasty and ungovernable, and thereby hasten'd his Destruction. He had a mind to enjoy without a Rival the Glory of a Victory, which he could not obtain without an Assistant. Marching therefore from *Melanthias*, an Imperial Town, he encamp'd with his Army near *Adrianople*, where he was presented with Letters from his Nephew *Gratian*, in which he earnestly press'd him not to hazard a Battle 'till he had join'd him, nor make that Victory doubtful, which the Conjunction of their Forces would render indisputable. In a Council of War, which was immediately call'd, some advis'd him to fight without delay, amongst whom was *Sebastian*, General of the Foot; but *Victor*, who commanded the Horse, and was a wary prudent Officer, advis'd him by all means to stay for his Collegue, and the Accession of the *Gallick* Troops, which would make him an equal Match for the Enemy.

Some say *Fritigern* at the same time sollicited him to a Peace, offering to accept of it upon very reasonable Conditions, which his Officers advis'd him by all means to embrace; remonstrating to him, that an honourable and certain Peace was always to be preferr'd to an uncertain Victory. Notwithstanding all which Considerations he was obstinate to fight, perswaded to it by his Flatterers, who told him he would thereby prevent that Honour his Nephew would share with him in the Engagement, and wear the Laurel alone. So that having sent all the Baggage into *Adrianople*, he order'd the Army to march, and about Noon the Enemy was discover'd preparing to fight; hereupon the *Roman* Officers drew up their Army in Order of Battel. Some

of the Enemy that lay farther off with *Alatheus* and *Safraces* sent to the Emperor, and pretended to desire Peace: He receiv'd 'em with much Indignation, requiring the chiefest among 'em to be deliver'd up as Hostages; but they drew out the Time as long as they could 'till their Horse was arriv'd, which they hourly expected; besides, they design'd by their Delay to tire out the *Romans* with the Heat of the Season, which was very much increas'd by the multitude of Fires they had for that purpose kindled throughout the Country.

In the mean time *Fritigern*, farther to amuse the Emperor, promis'd by a Messenger to bring all his Forces over to him, together with Necessaries for the Army, of which they then stood in great need, but requir'd that some Noblemen might be sent as Hostages to him. The Message was very acceptable to *Valens*, who propos'd *Equitius*, a Tribune and his own Relation, to be one of the Hostages; but he refus'd the Employment, having experienc'd the Severity of the Barbarians when detain'd Prisoner among 'em, from whom he lately made his Escape. Upon this *Richomeres*, like a Man of Courage and Resolution, voluntarily offer'd himself to go; but as they were conducting him to the Enemies Camp, a Party of Archers and others, under the Command of *Bacurius* an *Iberian* and one *Cassio*, impatient to be doing, fell upon the *Goths*, and gave an unlucky Beginning to the War: For by this means *Richomeres* his Design was frustrated, and the *Gothick* Horse having join'd the rest of the Army, they came rolling like a Torrent down the Mountains, and with an impetuous Force overwhelm'd all that stood in their way. The *Romans* were over-power'd at the first Onset, and fell in great Numbers, however they made a very vigorous Resistance, and were resolv'd to sell their Lives at as dear a rate as they

they could; never was Battel fought with more obſtinate Reſolution, where Death, like a raging irreſiſtible Flame, firſt caught hold on thoſe who turn'd it looſe, and then enlarg'd and extended it ſelf on every ſide with an implacable Fury. The Left Wing of the *Roman* Army pierc'd through to the Enemy's Carriages, and had undoubtedly done great Execution had they been ſupported by freſh Troops; but being deſerted by the reſt of the Horſe, who were broken at the firſt Shock, the Barbarians fell like a mighty Tower upon 'em, and cruſh'd 'em in a Moment; by this means the Foot were left naked, and expos'd to the Enemy's Weapons, who ſurrounding 'em on every ſide did very great Execution. The *Romans* fought like Men in Deſpair, and ſeem'd to contemn that Death they found unavoidable; the Barbarians behav'd themſelves with equal Bravery, encourag'd with the Proſpect of a Victory which they began to think indiſputable. They ow'd the Fortune of the Day not ſo much to their own Valour, as the Advantage of their Numbers, which made 'em inſenſible of the loſs of Multitudes of their Countrymen, who lay ſcatter'd o're the Field, gnawing the Earth, and rolling their Eyes in Death, which for that reaſon only was unwelcome, becauſe it took from 'em the means of Revenge. Through this Obſtinacy on both ſides the Plain became cover'd with heaps of dead Bodies, and the heavy Groans and Lamentations of them that were dying ſilenc'd the Shouts and Acclamations of thoſe who ſtill continu'd fighting. After the *Roman* Foot had done all that Men, whoſe Native Courage was embolden'd by Deſpair, could pretend to do, and had reſiſted an Enemy, 'till at laſt they found him to be irreſiſtible, they betook themſelves to their Heels and fled, but were cloſely follow'd by the Barbarians, who appear'd as

The Roman *Army defeated.*

obſtinate in the Purſuit as they had been before in the Fight, ſparing none that yielded, but quitting all thoſe that made reſiſtance. On the one ſide the *Romans* were hinder'd in the Flight by Multitudes of dead Bodies filling up the Way; on the other they were favour'd by the Darkneſs of the Night which now was coming on upon 'em. When the Emperor perceiv'd to which ſide the Fortune of the Day inclin'd, and that the Relicts of his Army were quitting the Field to the Victorious Enemy, he fled in great Conſternation to the *Lancearii*, who had hitherto ſtood the Shock without giving the leaſt Ground; which *Trajan*, who was lately reſtor'd to a Command in the Army, obſerving, he cry'd out, *That the Emperor, deſerted by his Guards, would unavoidably be loſt unleſs he was inſtantly reſcu'd*; whereupon *Victor* went in haſte for a Body of *Batavians*, who had been plac'd as a Reſerve for the Relief of the Prince, but by this time were either ſlain or fled. Thus *Valens* was left expos'd to the Fury of the Enemy, forſaken rather by Fortune, than deſerted by his Soldiers, whom the Barbarians over-power'd rather than conquer'd. Thoſe Officers that were left about him preſs'd him earneſtly to fly for his Safety, and reſerve himſelf for better Times, and the good of the Common-wealth, having provided him with Horſes accordingly, that would convey him ſpeedily out of Danger: But he thought it beneath his Dignity to out-live ſo great a Loſs, and therefore was ſlain by the Barbarians, together with ſeveral of his Followers, who in Heaps fell o'er him, covering his Body inſtead of a Monument. This Account of his Death we have from *Ammianus*, and *Libanius* in his Oration to *Theodoſius*; tho' other Hiſtorians affirm he did not die upon the ſpot, but being wounded in the Field fled with ſome of his Fol-

Valens *ſlain.*

Followers to a Contryman's Houſe hard by, which they made good for ſome time againſt the Barbarians, who ignorant of the Quality of the Perſon, and more intent upon the Proſpect of a greater Booty, ſet Fire to the Houſe, in the Flames of which the unhappy Emperor was conſum'd. All Authors agree he ow'd his Ruin to his own Obſtinacy, engaging with the Enemy in Envy to the Virtues of his Nephew *Gratian*, contrary to the Rules of Prudence, and the Advice of his moſt experienc'd Captains. Some ſay he receiv'd the *Goths* into the *Roman* Pale out of a Diſguſt to *Gratian*, who, when *Valentinian* had been choſen Emperor, without acquainting either of them with it, had confirm'd the Election without his Advice, and ſhar'd the Empire with him; to this may be added, the Diſagreement that was between 'em in Matters relating to Religion; for *Valens* had from the beginning openly eſpous'd the *Arian* Party, whereas *Gratian* was a great Favourer of the Orthodox Profeſſors.

With the Emperor fell near two Thirds of the Army, and among 'em ſeveral Eminent Perſons, ſuch as *Trajan* and *Sebaſtian*, two Principal Commanders, *Valerian* and *Equitius*, one Maſter of the Horſe, the other great Steward of the Houſhold, tho' none was more lamented than *Potentius*, a young Gentleman of extraordinary Hopes, highly eſteem'd for his own Merits, and reverenc'd in Honour to the Memory of his Father *Urſicinus*. This great Overthrow, ſaid to be equall'd by none but that of *Cannæ*, happen'd on the 9th of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 378. in the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Valens* and of *Valentinian*, after *Valens* had reign'd fourteen Years and four Months, and had liv'd near Fifty.

His Character.

The Character Heathen Authors have left us of him is agreeable to what we have already related con-

concerning him; but Eccleſiaſtical Writers are more ſevere againſt him, and term his Death a juſt Judgment from Heaven for the many Perſecutions he had rais'd againſt the Faithful, and the great Encouragement he gave to that abominable Hereſie of *Arius*, which flouriſh'd and encreas'd more in his Reign than under any of his Predeceſſors. In ſome reſpects he was like his Brother, for he was very cautious of preferring his Relations, and a rigorous Exacter both of Civil and Military Diſcipline. He was likewiſe a watchful Guardian of the Provinces, to whom he was as affectionate in his Care, as he could be to his own Family. He had one very commendable Quality, for he never conferr'd an Eſtate upon his begging Courtiers before he who had a Title to it had time allow'd him to plead his Right, and defend himſelf; and when ever upon Trial it appear'd he might lawfully diſpoſe of it, he never gave it all to him that begg'd it, but made him ſhare it with ſome others that were abſent, and by ſuch Diſappointments check'd the Importunity of thoſe who were gaping after others Men Wealth; tho' he himſelf was ſo intemperately covetous of Riches, that his rigorous and almoſt daily Confiſcations made his Government intolerable. He was of a clowniſh ſurly Temper, which in a great meaſure may be charg'd upon his want of Education, being brought up in his Youth neither to the Study of Arms, nor the liberal Sciences. He was ſo jealous of his Authority, that the leaſt ſuſpicion of Treaſon made him cruel and inexorable, and his Ears were open continually to all manner of Accuſations, which gain'd him but a few Friends, tho' where ever he profeſs'd a Friendſhip himſelf he was firm and faithful. His want of Breeding made him Rude and Abuſive, his Jealouſie made him Cholerick and Partial, and his want

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of Merit Envious and Detracting; the laſt of which, the moſt unbecoming a Prince, threw him upon imprudent Courſes, and as we obſerv'd before, brought him to an untimely End.

II. The Day after the Fight the *Goths*, inform'd by ſome Fugitives that *Valens* had left many Perſons of Quality behind in *Adrianople*, where likewiſe the Imperial Treaſure was lodg'd, march'd with great Expedition thither, and laid Siege to the City, by which means they prevented ſeveral, who had eſcap'd the Battel, from getting into the Town; whereupon three Hunder'd of 'em went in a Body over to the Barbarians, who cut 'em all in pieces, and by that imprudent Severity prevented the like Treachery for the future. After they had for ſeveral times aſſaulted the Town with much Vigour, and were as vigorouſly repuls'd by the Inhabitants, they at firſt endeavour'd by Letters full of Threats to perſuade the Defendants to Surrender, who anſwer'd 'em with much Indignation; then they attempted to ſeize on that by Fraud, which they could not obtain by Force, and encourag'd certain Fugitives to pretend they had made an Eſcape from the Beſiegers, and thereby gain Admittance into the Town, which they were to ſet on Fire in ſome convenient Place; which whilſt the Defendants were buſied in extinguiſhing, the Barbarians might Scale the Walls with greater Eaſe, and ſo maſter the Place. Theſe Fugitives came accordingly to the Trenches, where, with their Hands ſtretch'd out, they deſir'd of the *Romans* to be admitted, who without Suſpicion of any Treachery open'd the Gate and took 'em in; but when they came to be examin'd about the Enemy's Deſigns, they diſagreed in their Anſwers, which made 'em ſuſpected; and being put on the Rack they con-

The Goths *Beſiege* Adrianople.

confeſs'd the whole Matter, and loſt their Heads for their Treaſon. The *Goths* being by this Diſcovery deceiv'd of their Expectation, renew'd the Attack with Minds harden'd againſt Death and Danger, thinking by the Superiority of Numbers to do the Buſineſs; but in this the *Romans* had the Advantage, that whatever they diſcharg'd at 'em did ſome Execution. This Attack was ſhortly after, at the Inſtigation of their Officers, ſeconded by another, which they carry'd on with equal Obſtinacy, but were again repuls'd by the *Romans*, and forc'd to retire towards the Evening with great Loſs, fretting at their Succeſs, and upbraiding each other for acting contrary to *Fritigern*'s Advice, who by all means deſir'd 'em to avoid Sieges; ſo that they broke up the next Day, and march'd towards *Perinthus*, which they reſolv'd to ſeize; but ſtill feeling the rough Entertainment they met with before *Adrianople*, they had not the Courage to approach the Walls, but waſted that Fertile Country on every ſide; and ſo dividing the Army into four Bodies, for fear of a Surprize, they mov'd towards *Conſtantinople*, promiſing themſelves nothing leſs than the Poſſeſſion of the great Wealth they knew to be in that City.

They raiſe the Siege,

and march to Perinthus;

from thence to Conſtantinople.

Some time before the Death of *Valens*, the *Saracens* in the Eaſt, encourag'd perhaps by the Succeſs the *Goths* met with in *Thrace*, in Defiance of a Truce concluded between the Emperor and their Prince, who was lately dead, by which means the Truce was expir'd, roſe up in Arms, and under the Conduct of *Mavia*, Widdow to the deceas'd, a Woman of Maſculine Courage, ſurpriz'd the Towns ſituate on the Frontiers of *Paleſtine* and *Arabia*, and in ſeveral Encounters worſted the *Roman* Army, and thereby oblig'd the Emperor to grant 'em an Honourable Peace; one of the Principal Arti-

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cles in which was, that the Queen, who had lately receiv'd the Light of the Gospel, might have a certain Hermit call'd *Moses*, renown'd for his Virtues, and the Miracles God wrought by his Hands, sent to her to convert and instruct her Subjects in the same Religion. *Moses* was sent accordingly, and was so successful in his Mission, that great Multitudes of People, who never before heard of Christianity or the Gospel, were enlighten'd by the Holy Ghost, and embrac'd the Faith. A great Party from this Nation were now sent by the Queen to defend *Constantinople*, and being more dextrous in sudden Onsets than regular Engagements, they issu'd out, and fell suddenly upon the *Goths* as they were facing the City. After a hot Dispute for some time they parted upon equal Terms, tho' the *Goths* were much terrify'd at an Action they observ'd in one of the *Saracens*. A Man whose Hair hung in a great length behind him, and who was naked all over his Body except his Privy Parts, ran with an hideous Noise into the midst of the *Goths*, and killing one of 'em, set his Mouth to the Wound and suck'd his Blood; tho' this was a customary thing with them of that Nation, as appears from the Testimony of several Authors, yet the Barbarians were so surpriz'd at such a prodigious Action, that they began to reflect on the Posture of their Affairs, and march'd with more Circumspection. Observing the large compass of the Walls, the Strength of the Place, and great Numbers of its Inhabitants, they decamp'd in the Night, and march'd Northward as far as the *Julian Alps*; having lost more Men than they destroy'd in this bold Attempt, which prov'd more Fatal to some of their Countrymen than themselves; for the Noise of their Devastations throughout *Thrace* were no sooner reported in the East, but all the Provinces were

A strange Action of a Saracen.

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in a great Conſternation, expecting the Storm would preſently be at their own Doors, by reaſon of the great Multitude of *Goths* which were then Quarter'd in the ſeveral Forts and Cities of thoſe Parts, tho' under the Command of *Roman* Officers, who they made no doubt would readily riſe and join with their Countrymen, ſhould they in the Courſe of their Rovings move that way; but *Julius*, who commanded in the Eaſt as General of the *Roman* Armies, enter'd upon a ſafe and wholeſom, but a ſevere and bloody Courſe to prevent any Danger that might ariſe from 'em. By Letters ſent ſecretly to their Officers, he order'd 'em all to be drawn out in the Fields adjoining to their reſpective Quarters at one and the ſame time, under a Pretence of receiving their Pay, and to be all put to the Sword. This prudent Council was put in Execution without any Noiſe or Delay, and the Eaſtern Provinces were thereby deliver'd from thoſe great Dangers they had juſt reaſon to apprehend. *Gratian* being inform'd of his Uncle's Death, and the great loſs the *Romans* had ſuſtain'd in the late Battle, went preſently to *Sirmium*, there to take ſuch Meaſures, and follow ſuch Councils as the Neceſſity of his Affairs ſuggeſted to him; and being join'd by all the Forces he could raiſe, he march'd through *Pannonia*, *Myſia*, and *Thrace*, and arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, where conſidering with himſelf how many brave Officers the preſent War had deſtroy'd, and how much he ſtood in need of an able and faithful General, he pitch'd upon *Theodoſius*, the Son of him who commanded with ſo much Succeſs firſt here in *Britain*, and afterwards in *Africk*. He was a Perſon of great Abilities in Matters relating to the War, and no leſs capable of managing State Affairs, and governing in Times of Peace, of all which he had given extraordinary Proofs, tho'

All the Goths put to the Sword in the Eaſt.

upon

upon the Account of some Faction in *Spain*, his own Country, he was at present laid aside, and led a private retir'd Life. Him *Gratian* immediately sent for, and in the mean time named *Ausonius* and *Olybrius* Consuls for the Year ensuing. *Ausonius* was a Native of *Burdeaux*, had been the Emperor's Tutor, and was one of the most famous Poets of his Time; tho' he fell short of that Beauty and Purity in his Writings, which so evidently distinguish those of the *Augustean* Age.

Theodosius, in Obedience to the Emperor, arriv'd at Court, and had Orders to command in the East; and some say, that he immediately thereupon enter'd into Action with the Barbarians, and obtain'd a memorable Victory over 'em: This is not very likely, if we consider the Silence of the ancient Writers in this Particular, and that within a Month after, being with *Gratian* at *Sirmium*, he was declared by him his Collegue in the Empire. THEODOSIUS.

For *Gratian* observing the Necessities to which the State was reduc'd, and the imminent Dangers that threaten'd the Empire, how the *Goths* on one side continu'd to infest it, and were raging in the very Bowels of it; how on the other the *Germans*, taking the advantage of his Absence, were again up in Arms, and were making Work enough for him in *Gaul*, he willingly inclin'd to the Advice of those, who persuaded him to assume *Theodosius* for his Partner in the Supream Power. Whereupon summoning the Nobility together, he address'd himself in a Speech to *Theodosius*, and told him he had resolv'd to commit the Care of the East to his Charge. *Theodosius* thank'd him, in a modest Answer, for the great Honour he intended him, but endeavour'd to excuse himself, declaring the Burden to be greater than he was able to undergo. However *Gratian* still persisted in his Design, and so *Theodosius* was

declared

declared Emperor on the 16th of *January*, when he
A. D. was Thirty three Years old, *A. D.* 379. *Ausonius*
379. and *Olybrius* being Consuls.

After *Gratian* had taken this Order for the Settlement and Security of the East, he left *Sirmium* in order to return to *Gaul*, into which he heard the *Germans*, having broken through the Borders, were lately fallen. He march'd therefore towards it with all Expedition, and at *Milan* publishes an Edict, forbidding any under the severest Penalties to harbour or conceal those who deserted their Colours, a thing at that time very much in practice. From *Milan* he proceeded on his Progress through *Rhetia*, and visited the *Sequani* and *Germania Prima*, and by little more than his Appearance in those Parts restrain'd the Motions of the *Germans*, and settling the Affairs of that Country he return'd to *Triers*, having much about this time issued out another Edict, forbidding Hereticks to form any publick Assemblies throughout the Empire.

Gratian being departed from *Sirmium*, *Theodosius* remov'd to *Thessalonica*, where he gain'd very much upon the Minds of the People, through the easie Access to his Person, and his obliging Carriage to those who had any Business with him, relating either to the Publick, or their own private Concerns. Here he began his first Preparations against the *Goths*, who having in fresh Numbers pass'd the *Ister* grew very burdensome to the Provinces. They were grown so numerous in *Thrace*, all which they had by this time over-run, that the *Roman* Forces disposed in Garrisons throughout the Country, dar'd not so much as look abroad, much less come to any Engagement in the open Field. Here our best Guide, *Ammianus*, has left us, who concluded his History presently after the Death of *Valens*; and other Authors, who wrote of the Actions perform'd

against

againſt the Barbarians, are ſo inconſiſtent with each other, ſo obſcure in their Accounts, and frequently ſo contradictory to themſelves, that a Writer ought to be very cautious of what he relates upon their Authority. Some ſay *Theodoſius* march'd in Perſon againſt 'em, fought 'em, and gave 'em a total Defeat. Others, that whilſt he continu'd at *Theſſalonica*, one *Modares*, a Man of Royal Birth among the *Scythians*, having embrac'd the *Roman* Intereſt, and perform'd ſome ſignal Services under 'em, was preferr'd to a conſiderable Command in the Army. That he leading his Men up to a Hill, from whence he had a fair Proſpect of the adjacent Country, diſcover'd the Barbarians, who had abus'd the Advantages the fruitful Plains afforded, and were for the moſt part overcome with Exceſs of Wine. Whereupon he order'd his Troops to leave their heavy Armour behind, and with their Swords in hand fall upon them who were by this time unable to defend themſelves. This was ſpeedily executed, and the Barbarians were put all to the Sword, many of 'em dying without being ſenſible who they were that hurt 'em. In their Camp, which they plunder'd, they found four thouſand Waggons full of their Wives and Children, with an anſwerable number of Slaves, beſides ſeveral who follow'd on foot, and were to ride when their Turns came, for there was not room ſufficient in their Carriages to receive 'em all at once. And in this manner *Zozimus* tells us *Thrace* was preſerv'd from an approaching Ruin, which he attributes to the Conduct of *Modares*, and not to the Prudence and Circumſpection of *Theodoſius*, who, if we may believe him, behav'd himſelf unworthy the high Dignity to which he was advanc'd; for he inveighs againſt him in Terms better becoming the Virulence of a Declaimer, than the Integrity of an Hiſtorian. But as he appears groſly parti-

al

al in many other Paſſages of his Hiſtory, ſo is he no leſs to be ſuſpected in this; for beſides that he is not able to conceal the Rancor of his Heart, and his Zeal for the Pagan Worſhip, ſeveral Laws made by *Theodoſius* at that time, eſpecially ſome relating to the Army, wipe off thoſe Aſperſions he has flung at random upon him, and argue him as void of good Manners as of Judgment. To all which we may add, that in thoſe things for which he reprehends and taxes *Theodoſius*, few or no other Writers agree with him; but where he condeſcends to make him ſome Allowances due to his Prudence and Succeſs, he therein concurs with the reſt of the Authors, who have written of thoſe Times, whether Chriſtian or Heathen. He confeſſes that his generous Behaviour and Magnificence towards *Athanarich*, a *Scythian* Prince we had occaſion to mention before, wrought ſo much upon the *Scythians* who attended him to *Conſtantinople*, that they return'd home, in high Admiration of *Theodoſius* his Goodneſs, and reſolv'd no more to moleſt the *Romans*; and ſome who ſtaid behind undertook to defend the Bank of the River, and freed the *Roman* Territories from any Incurſions for a long time after. He tells us he overthrew the *Scyri* and *Carpadocæ*, who had join'd themſelves with the *Hunns*, and compell'd 'em to return home; that by this, and ſome other ſucceſsful Exploits, the Soldiers began to re-aſſume their former Courage, and breath with new Hopes, notwithſtanding the many Difficulties which for a long time had lain heavy upon the Empire, which ſeem'd now by *Theodoſius* his Vigilance to be recover'd from its former Diſtempers. This Account of *Theodoſius* his Succeſs is no more than what is atteſted by ſeveral other Writers, who agree with him in his Commendations of *Theodoſius* his Clemency and ſingular good Nature; by the Force and Efficacy of

which

which Weapon, more prevalent than his Garrisons, Legions and Cohorts, saith *Themistius*, he extinguish'd the *Scythian* Flame, though it had for a long time raged with a resistless Fury throughout *Thrace*, which groan'd with the Weight of the Barbarians that rush'd in upon it, whilst the Banks of the *Danube* vomited forth Battels that laid whole Provinces waste in a moment. *Orosius* writes further, that all the Nations of the *Goths*, charm'd with the Virtue and Mildness of *Theodosius*, renounc'd all farther thoughts of War and submitted themselves to the Laws of the *Roman* Empire: Adding, that at the same time the *Persians* voluntarily sent their Embassadors to *Constantinople* to sollicit a Peace, whereupon a League was concluded, of which all the East reaped the Benefit for a long time after.

Tho' *Zozimus* charges this Emperor with many enormous Corruptions, which he suffer'd to be intromitted into his Court and his Camp, yet we are assured that he effected a thorough Reformation in both. He put a stop to the ill Practices that had been us'd for a long time in raising the *Tirones*, or Recruits for the Army; publish'd a Law, which he caus'd exactly to be observ'd, against corrupt Judges; enlarg'd the Authority of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, who had thereby a full Power to punish the Misdemeanors of Governors in the Provinces; he restrain'd the unlimited Licence of Informers, and sufficiently discourag'd a great Vice, natural to Courtiers in almost all Reigns, that of begging Men's Estates; and whereas some Governors of Provinces, by a shameful Abuse of their Power, often terrify'd Men into Donations, wherein they gave a great part of their Estates to them, to the apparent Prejudice, and sometimes utter Ruin of their Families, he declared all such Donations to be void, whether made to the Governors themselves,

or any of their Relations; he reform'd ſeveral Abuſes too much practiſed by the Receivers of the Revenue, which were thereby improved to a very great degree; and by a very wholeſome Law ordain'd, that thoſe who had been Governors of Provinces, ſhould, after the time of their Government was expir'd, remain in the reſpective Province for two or three Months, there to anſwer whatever the Provincials could alledge againſt 'em in reference to their Male-Adminiſtration, and made 'em reſponſible not only for whatever Injuries they had done themſelves, but for the Inſolences committed by their inferior Officers. One *Naralis*, who had formerly commanded in *Sardinia*, gave occaſion to this Law: He, in the former Reign, had cruelly oppreſs'd the Inhabitants of that Province, and was got out of their reach, before they had time to complain to thoſe who had the proper Cognizance of it; but *Theodoſius* ſent him back into the Iſland, and ſubjected him to the Inquiſition of the Law, and to prevent the like Oppreſſions for the future, publiſh'd the forementioned Edict.

Theſe Laws and Ordinances ſufficiently clear him from the Imputation of that heavy Charge *Zozimus* has brought againſt him, whoſe greateſt Quarrel to him was that he was a Chriſtian, in the Purity of which Faith he perſiſted, at a time when the Church was almoſt rent in pieces by innumerable Hereſies and Schiſms. One *Maximus*, a *Cynic* Philoſopher, had lately embrac'd Chriſtianity, in the Defence of which he writ with much Spirit and Judgment, both againſt the *Arians* and Heathens, for which in *Valens* his Reign he had ſuffer'd much Perſecution, and was baniſh'd into the Deſart of *Oaſis*. He was now return'd to *Conſtantinople*, and was recommended by *Peter* of *Alexandria* to *Gregory Nazianzen*, whom the People of the City had elected

Commotions at Conſtantinople

elected for their Bishop, into which Office the *Arians* had in *Valens* his Reign thrust one of their own Faction. *Gregory* received *Maximus* with much Tenderness, and recommended him to the People, as one whom Jesus Christ had thought worthy to suffer for his Name sake, and little thought a Man of his exemplary Sanctity should be animated with the Spirit of Pride and Ambition. *Maximus* had, either by the Appearance of his good Qualities, or his Promises and Presents, so far gain'd the Good-will of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, that he resolv'd blindly to espouse and favour his Interest: Accordingly he dispatch'd seven Orthodox Bishops to *Constantinople*, whom St. *Gregory* entertain'd with much Civility, and commended 'em in his Sermons as Prelates truly zealous for the Faith. Some time after an Indisposition of Health obliged him to retire into the Country for a few Days, for the Benefit of the Air; and in his Absence these Bishops got by Night into the Church *of the Resurrection*, where they ordain'd *Maximus* Bishop of *Constantinople* in the room of *Gregory*: In the Morning the People and the Priests, who were of *Gregory*'s Party, and even the *Arians* themselves, offended at so bold an Attempt, came in a great Body and forc'd *Maximus* and his Ordainers out of the Church; notwithstanding which they persisted still in their Design, and getting into a private House they cut off *Maximus* his Hair, which he wore very long after the Mode of the *Cynic* Philosophers, and confirm'd him Bishop. The People were so provok'd at this their Obstinacy, that they chaced the new Prelate out of the City, and sent for St. *Gregory*; who returning, convinc'd some who had been induced to adhere to *Maximus*, of his sinister Practices, and composed the Minds of the People. From hence we may learn, that the Life and Nature of

Christianity does not consist in an outward Profession of it, however formal and zealous, but in an inward Purity of the Mind, which none can counterfeit, and is the immediate Gift of God. These Practices at *Constantinople*, and some fresh Attempts of the *Arians*, caus'd *Theodosius* to summon the second General or Oecumenical Council, which was celebrated in that City by 150 Orthodox Bishops.

Arcadius *declared* Augustus. A. D. 383.

Sometime after this *Theodosius* advanc'd his Son *Arcadius*, whom he had by the Empress *Placilla*, to the Imperial Dignity. This Ceremony was perform'd on the 16th of *January*, *Arcadius* being then six, or as some will have it eight Years of Age. After he had made him Emperor, his first Care was to give him an Education proper for a Person that was to move in so high a Sphere, and to that purpose desired *Gratian* by Letters to send him some pious and learned Man, whom he thought fit for so great an Undertaking. Hereupon *Gratian*, at the Recommendation of *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, made choice of *Arsenius* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, a Person eminent for Piety and Learning.

Upon his Arrival at *Constantinople* the Emperor resign'd up his Sons, together with *Nebridius* their Cousin-German, to his Care, telling him *That for the future he should look on him as their Father more than himself:* Implying by it, that he desired him to use the same Authority over, and Affection towards 'em, as a Father doth to his Children; and that he expected his Sons should pay him a Respect equal to that which is due to a Parent. Accordingly coming one Day into the School he found *Arsenius* standing, and *Arcadius*, whom he was instructing, sitting down, at which Sight he was angry, and reprehended *Arsenius* for not preserving the Dignity of his Office. To this *Arsenius* reply'd, *That it by no means became him to sit in the Pre-*

Presence of an Emperor; upon which *Theodosius* took the Diadem from off *Arcadius* his Head, and made *Arsenius* sit down whilst the young Emperor receiv'd his Instructions standing, and bare-headed, as a Scholar ought; adding, *That his Son would be unworthy the Empire, if to Knowledge he did not add Goodness and the Fear of God.* *Arsenius* omitted nothing requisite to the informing a Prince, in whose Education a great part of Mankind was so nearly concern'd; but he found his Scholar was not so Docile and Tractable as he desir'd, for being constrain'd to chastise him one Day for a very considerable Fault, he receiv'd his Correction with so much Indignation, that he immediately plotted against his Master's Life. *Arsenius* being inform'd of it retir'd secretly from Court, and join'd himself to some *Anchorets* in *Egypt*, where he liv'd all the rest of his Days, and dy'd Famous for his Sanctity.

Gratian had upon all Occasions show'd himself very averse to the Heathen Superstitions, depriving the Priests of the Revenue that had been assign'd for their Subsistance. He refus'd the Title of *Chief-Priest*, which had been offer'd him, being of Opinion it savour'd too much of the ancient Idolatry; these, and other Provocations, upon the account of Religion, render'd him odious to the Heathens, whose manner of Worship they were afraid he intended to extirpate; and this made 'em cast their Eyes upon *Maximus*, who was then aiming at great things here in *Britain*, where he had per- *Usurps.* Maximus form'd many brave Exploits against the *Scots*, whose King *Eugenius*, he defeated and kill'd in Battel. The Writers of those Times are not agreed upon the Place of his Birth; some say he was a *Spaniard*, others that he was Born in this Island; but of what Country soever he was, he gave out that he was

descended from *Constantine* the Great, and accordingly call'd himself *Fl. Clemens Maximus*; and the better to ingratiate himself with the Soldiers, pretended that he was join'd in Affinity with *Theodosius*, with whose Participation and Consent he had thus set up for himself. *Gratian* at first despis'd him as a mean Man, unable to accomplish his Treasonable Designs, and therefore sent only a few mercenary *Alans* against him, whom indeed some accus'd him for favouring too much. The old *Roman* Soldiers were highly affronted at this Preference, which they thought the Emperor gave the Barbarians, on whose Fidelity and Courage he seem'd chiefly to rely. This Dissatisfaction was improv'd by some who were disaffected to *Gratian*, and wrought so much upon the Army that in great Anger they revolted to *Maximus*, from whom they were promis'd all manner of Favours. A Revolt so unexpected made *Gratian* fly from *Triers* in great Consternation to *Paris*, whither the Usurper, after he had easily defeated the *Alans*, follow'd, and encamp'd near him. For five Days together both Armies continu'd in their Posts without any Action, except a few Skirmishes, in which the Advantage was great on neither side, 'till first the *Moors*, and then the rest of the Army shamefully deserted the Prince, and went over to *Maximus*. *Gratian* seeing himself thus abandon'd by his Subjects fled in great haste towards the South, attended by no more than three hunder'd Horse, and at last got into *Lyons*, after he had been refus'd Admittance into other Cities. *Maximus* follow'd him close upon the Heels with his whole Army, and attempted at first by plain Force to destroy him; but being disappointed in that, he had recourse to a Stratagem, in which he succeeded. He procur'd some about *Gratian* to inform him, that his Wife

was

was coming to him, and intended to meet him on this side the *Rhône*, which runs by the City. This News highly pleas'd the unfortunate Prince, who was over-joy'd to hear the Empress was so near at Hand, and without any Hesitation went forth to meet her. In the mean time a Ruffian had by *Maximus* his Procurement dispos'd of himself in a Litter, in which *Gratian* was made to believe the Empress was. The Emperor with open Arms stood ready to receive her, and the Villain suddenly started forth, and without any remorse depriv'd him of Life, whom he ought to have defended at the certain hazard of his own. Thus fell *Gratian* by the Hands of a barbarous Traitor, call'd *Andragathius*, in the Flower of his Age, having hardly liv'd Twenty eight Years, and reign'd Sixteen. He was a Prince on whom the most inveterate of Pagan Writers have fasten'd no ill Character; for not to mention his School-master *Ausonius*, they all agree that he was Modest, Gentle, Eloquent and Sincere; that he was Abstemious, Sober, Frugal, but not Parcimonious; Devout, but no way Superstitious. They charge him with following the Sports of the Field, and other Recreations too much, neglecting in the mean time the weighty Affairs of the Empire; this may justly be imputed to his Youth, and want of Consideration, and for which there is great reason to think he would have made large Amends in his riper Years; as may be gather'd from his Exploits against the *Germans*, his Zeal in assisting his Uncle *Valens*, and Prudence in promoting *Theodosius*, and thereby providing for the Security of the East. Indeed *Ausonius* launches out largely in his Commendation, tho' there is nothing contain'd in his whole Panegyrick, that seems to contradict the Sense other Writers had of him, whether Christian or Heathen. In a Word, he was worthy

Gratian *slain.*

His Character.

a longer Life, but is not the only good Prince whom Treaſon and Ambition have brought to an untimely Death.

III. We ought not to wonder if *Maximus*, who had ſtain'd his Hands in the Blood of his lawful Soveraign, ſhould deny him decent Burial after he had procur'd him to be barbarouſly murder'd; it was an Inhumanity worthy of a Tyrant and Uſurper, whoſe Cruelty was not ſatisfy'd with his Death, but rag'd with an implacable Thirſt againſt thoſe whoſe Loyal Services had rais'd 'em into any degree of Favour with their deceas'd Maſter. Some Writers have affirm'd that *Merobaudes*, the Conſul for this Year, was privy to *Maximus* his Proceedings, and conſenting to the Death of *Gratian*, for which, if it be true, the Tyrant made him but an ill return; for before the Year was expir'd he put him to Death, as he did *Ballio* and ſeveral others, whom he ſuſpected to be favourable to the Memory of *Gratian*, who he thought ſtill ſurviv'd in their Affections towards him, and render'd his Uſurpation weak and inſecure. As ſoon as he found all things ſucceeded according to his Deſire and Expectation, either becauſe he thought himſelf ſafe by this time in his new Dignity, or rather to ſtrengthen and confirm himſelf in it, he ſent his Embaſſadors to *Theodoſius*, not to ask his Pardon for what he had acted againſt *Gratian*, but *to offer Peace, and upon his Acceptance of it to Unite himſelf in a League with him againſt the Enemies of the* Roman *Empire; or in caſe he rejected that Friendly Offer, to denounce War againſt him, which muſt be bloody in the Courſe of it, and doubtful in the Iſſue.*

Maximus *his Cruelty.*

Theodoſius, concealing his Thoughts, receiv'd the Embaſſadors very honourably, and in appearance com-

comply'd with the Tyrant's Demands; for he was afraid leſt, upon his Refuſal, he ſhould Invade *Italy* and Surprize *Valentinian*, who had neither Experience, nor Forces ſufficient to make Head againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, who was now become Maſter of *Gaul* and *Spain*; and *Valentinian* himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the Danger he was in, and jealous of the Integrity of ſome that were near him, that he ſent St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*, to ſee if upon the Reputation of his Wiſdom and Sanctity, he could reſtrain the Uſurper's extravagant Thirſt of Empire, and perſuade him to continue on that ſide the *Alps*. *Maximus* ſeem'd well pleas'd with St. *Ambroſe* his Errand, either becauſe he had not as yet ſettled his Affairs in *Gaul* and *Britain*, or at preſent was in want of Mony, the Sinews of War, without which his future Attempts would be vain and ineffectual. He careſs'd St. *Ambroſe* in an extraordinary manner, and ask'd him why *Valentinian* himſelf did not come with him, affirming he would have been equally welcome to his Arms, as if he had been his own Son. St. *Ambroſe* made a very handſome Excuſe for *Valentinian*, telling him he was too Young to attempt a Journey over the *Alps* at ſo unſeaſonable a time of the Year; and concluded that he was not come to give him an Account of his Maſter's Actions, but ſettle a mutual Confidence and Agreement between 'em, if he thought fit to accept of it; and in ſhort he ſo dexterouſly amus'd *Maximus*, that a Peace was concluded according to his Deſire.

This Year *Theodoſius*, who earneſtly endeavour'd to eſtabliſh a perfect Union in the Church, ſummon'd another Council to ſit at *Conſtantinople*, ſending not only for the Orthodox Biſhops, but the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Novatians*, and others; and having propos'd a means of an Accommodation be-

tween

tween 'em, he outwardly careſs'd the Heretick Prelates during the Conference, hoping, by ſuch a Condeſcention, to make 'em more inclinable to a Compliance. This was obſerv'd by *Amphilochius*, Biſhop of *Iconium*, a Perſon Eminent for his Doctrine and Piety, who now began to be afraid the Emperor would ſuffer himſelf to be ſeduc'd by the crafty Inſinuations of the *Arians*; and when the other Biſhops, upon his Entrance into the Place where the Council was celebrated, roſe and paid *Theodoſius* the accuſtom'd Honours, obſerving the ſame to his Son *Arcadius*, whom he had lately declar'd Emperor, *Amphilochius* ſaluted the Father, but took no manner of notice of *Arcadius*, which *Theodoſius* imputing to a Miſtake, commanded him to come and render the ſame Honours to *Arcadius*; the Biſhop reply'd, He had done his Duty in that he had honour'd the Father: This Anſwer offended *Theodoſius*, who thought both himſelf and his Son highly injur'd in it, upon which *Amphilochius* ſaid aloud, *Your Majeſty is in the right in requiring the ſame Honours to be paid to your Son, which are due to your ſelf; be pleas'd to judge therefore what an heinous Offence they commit againſt God the Father, who are ſo far from giving the Son the Honour due to his Name, that they dare moſt impiouſly to revile and blaſpheme it.* *Theodoſius* was ſo touch'd with this ſeaſonable Anſwer, that he ever after eſpous'd the Orthodox Intereſt with more Zeal, and prohibited the *Arians* from holding any Publick Aſſemblies.

He had lately by his Armies in the Eaſt obtain'd ſeveral Advantages over the *Perſians*, who therefore by their Embaſſadors at *Conſtantinople* deſir'd a Peace, which *Theodoſius*, whoſe main Care was the Safety and Proſperity of the Empire, readily granted; and tho' he had then great Armies on Foot in

ſeveral

several Quarters of the Empire, he at a great Expence beautify'd and improv'd the City, by building several Aqueducts, and a Capacious Port, from whence, as some have conceiv'd, the *Turks* at this Day call *Constantinople* it self, by way of Eminence, the *Port*; by several wholesom Laws and Royal Immunities he eas'd the Inhabitants of such Hardships, as either the Corruption or Remissness of former Reigns had thrown upon 'em. This Year was *Honorius* his second Son Born, in the Consulate of *Fl. Ricimeres*, and *Fl. Clearchus*, and the Year following had *Fl. Arcadius*, and *Fl. Bauto* for Consuls. About this time *Theodosius* lost his Wife *Placilla*, or *Flaccilla*, a Lady as remarkable for her Piety and Munificence, as she was illustrious for her Dignity, with which she never appear'd in the least Elevated, but rather the more Humble and Devout; she took care often to remind the Emperor of his former Condition, that he might behave himself in his exalted Fortune with a Heart full of Gratitude and Submission to the Will of God, by whom he Reign'd. She not only made a Provision for the Maintenance of the Sick and Infirm, but would her self often Visit 'em in Person, and Administer to 'em: These extraordinary Qualities endear'd her to the Fathers of the Church, who liv'd in that Age, and who have given Posterity large Commendations of her Virtues. The Emperor was sensibly touch'd at the loss of so excellent a Wife, which was follow'd by some new Commotions rais'd by the *Gruthingi*, a People unknown 'till then to other Nations, but who began now to appear on the other side of the *Ister*. They were many in Number, and provided with Arms, and whatever else was necessary for a bold Undertaking; so that breaking with ease through the Territories of other Barbarians, under the Conduct of *Odetheus* their

A. D. 385.

The Death of the Empress Flaccilla.

their King, they came to the Banks of the River, and demanded a Paſſage over. *Promotus* was then Lieutenant for the Emperor in thoſe Parts, who, without making much Oppoſition, openly circumvented 'em by a Stratagem. He procur'd ſome in whom he could confide, and were skilful in the Language of the Barbarians, to go in the nature of Deſerters over to 'em; they being brought to the King undertook, upon the Promiſe of a good Reward, to conduct 'em ſafely over the River, and betray the *Roman* Commander and his Army into their Hands. The King readily accepted of the Conditions, and Matters were duly concerted between 'em for the Accompliſhment of the intended Deſign; but *Promotus* being inform'd of all by his induſtrious Emiſſaries, was ſo prepar'd to receive thoſe, who expected to meet with no Oppoſition, that they were all drown'd before they could reach the oppoſite Shore, and they who continu'd ſtill on the other ſide, were either taken or put to Flight; the *Romans* plunder'd their Camp, in which they found a very great Booty, beſides Multitudes of Women and Children, who with the Priſoners taken in the Fight were ſent to *Theodoſius*, who receiv'd 'em more favourably than they expected, releas'd 'em from their Bonds, regal'd 'em with Preſents, hoping by this his Humanity to purchaſe their good Will, and make uſe of 'em in the War he was now preparing againſt *Maximus*. But whilſt he was intent upon it a Sedition at *Antioch* diverted him from his Preparations, which as it was extraordinary in its kind, and brought the City into extream Danger, ſo in the Sequel it ſhow'd the Golden Temper of *Theodoſius* his Mind. His Son *Arcadius* was now in the Fifth Year of his Sovereignty, and he himſelf ready to enter into the Tenth of his own, ſo that this Year he celebrated his

Promotus Defeats the Gruthingi.

A. D. 387.

Son's

Son's *Quinquennalia*, and was making a Provision for the solemnizing his own *Decennalia*.

As it was usual with the Emperors to present the Soldiers with a Donative upon their first Promotion to the Imperial Dignity, so did they always do the like upon these Solemnities, at which time they were supposed to renew their Power, and in a manner begin their Reign afresh. The necessary Preparations for the War design'd against *Maximus*, and this Largess which the Emperor was to make, as well upon his own as his Son's Account, required a great Sum of Mony; for which reason he exacted an answerable Supply from the People. This seem'd so unreasonable an Oppression to the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, that they rais'd a great Sedition in the City, demolishing his Statues, together with those of the late Empress *Flaccilla*, those of his two Sons and of his Father *Theodosius*.

A Sedition at Antioch

The Emperor, upon the first News of this Insurrection, was highly displeas'd, and sent away two Judges with full Powers to try and punish the Offenders; who arriving at *Antioch* first deprived the City of all her Privileges, degraded her from her Metropolitan Honour, and made *Laodicea* Metropolis of *Syria*; they commanded all the Baths, Theatres, *Forums*, and other Publick Places to be shut up; the most eminent of the City, who were known or suspected to be guilty, were apprehended, and committed to Prison, where they were presented with Tortures, and terrify'd with the sense of the Emperor's Indignation; a sufficient Number of Guards were placed in all the Quarters of the City to curb the Citizens, and restrain 'em from any new Insurrection; the Judges were busied in preparing the severest Inquisitions, and in seizing the Estates of those, who were suspected to have been the most Active, whilst the disconsolate Inhabitants had no

Comfort,

Comfort, but in their Devotions, and the Sermons of St. *Chryſoſtome*, who then reſided in that City. A great part of the Inhabitants, and they who had been the Ring-leaders in the Uproar, when they heard how highly the Emperor was offended, eſpecially at the Indignity offer'd his deceas'd Empreſs, withdrew themſelves from the Storm which they ſaw gathering over 'em. Several Hermits, who led a retir'd Life in the adjacent Mountains, had no ſooner heard of the miſerable Condition the City was in, but they repair'd thither, and by their importunate Arguments prevail'd with the Judges to ſuſpend their farther Proceedings, 'till by ſome proper Meſſenger they had attempted to appeaſe the Emperor, and ſoften him into Pity towards 'em. The very principal Men in that flouriſhing City had been arraign'd and condemn'd, and there wanted nothing but the Execution of the Sentence pronounc'd againſt 'em; with very earneſt and repeated Importunities St. *Chryſoſtome* and theſe Hermits obtain'd a Reprieve from the Judges, 'till a Report of their whole Proceedings had been made to the Emperor, and his further Pleaſure were known. None ſeem'd more ready, or indeed more proper to appear before *Theodoſius* in behalf of the almoſt deſolate City, than *Flavian*, Biſhop of the Place; who foreſeeing the Danger undertook the Employment ſhortly after the Fact was committed, and before the Commiſſioners ſent by *Theodoſius* were arriv'd; and when he came to *Conſtantinople* found the Emperor highly incens'd againſt them, however by his perſuaſive Carriage and pathetical Entreaties he obtain'd his Deſire. The Emperor repreſented to him, in a long and lively Expoſtulation, the Kindneſs he had ever expreſs'd to that City, ask'd him *what ill Offices he ever had done 'em that could provoke 'em to ſo undutiful a Reſentment, which not content to offer Indignities*

dignities to the Living, broke out in most inhuman Fury against the Dead. He told him, *he had ever preferr'd* Antioch *to all other Cities, and in the height of his Prosperity earnestly desir'd to see it, promising more Satisfaction to himself from that than all his Imperial Pomp and outward Enjoyments.* *Flavian* began his Answer with a hearty Acknowledgment of their Insolence and Ingratitude, which he aggravated to the Emperor, confessing to him, *That Fire and the Sword were Punishments too mild and genile for their Offences, of which they were now so truly sensible, and of their undutiful Returns to so indulgent a Prince, that they dreaded his Anger more than Exile or Captivity:* He reminded him of the Duty of a Christian, *who ought to imitate the Mercy and Forbearance of God Almighty; and shew'd him how near he would approach that Divine Original, if he would restore the disconsolate City to his Grace and Favour.* He told him, *he had now an Opportunity of making himself a lasting Example to all Posterity of Clemency and good Nature; that it was in his power to raise as from the dead his miserable Subjects, who in a just Sense and Apprehension of his Displeasure were dying already, even before the Sentence was denounc'd against 'em.* In a word, this admirable Speech, as it is represented at large in St. *Chrysostome*, proved so efficacious with the Emperor, that he could not restrain from Tears, but immediately sent *Flavian* back to put a stop to the Proceedings of the Commissioners, to restore the City to her ancient Liberties and Privileges, and the Citizens to his Love and Protection. The News of his Success flew quick before him to *Antioch*, and was receiv'd with so universal a Joy, that almost the whole City went out to meet their Holy Bishop on the Way, and usher'd him in with Songs and Acclamations, spending the Day in Feasts and Triumphs, as if *Antioch*

tioch had now begun, and the Day which reſtor'd her to her forfeited Honours, had been the firſt that gave a Being to 'em.

This Matter being ſo happily ended, *Theodoſius* found himſelf more at leiſure to proſecute his Deſigns againſt *Maximus*, who toward the latter end of this Year had broken into *Italy*, and driven away *Valentinian*, who with *Juſtina* his Mother, and his Siſter *Galla*, fled to *Theſſalonica* in *Illyricum*, whither *Theodoſius* went to meet him.

For we are to underſtand that *Maximus*, after he had fully ſecured to his Obedience moſt of thoſe Nations who obey'd *Gratian*, thought his Work but half done, 'till he had ſtrengthen'd himſelf by the Addition of *Valentinian*'s ſhare too, and ſent him to follow his Brother's Fortune. *Valentinian* had lately ſent *Domninus* a *Syrian*, in an Embaſſy to him. This *Domninus* was a Perſon of great Eſteem, and particularly regarded by the Emperor, who had a great Confidence in him, and made him a Partner of all his Secrets. *Maximus* receiv'd this Embaſſador with great Civility, entertain'd him with much Magnificence, and expreſs'd himſelf with ſo much Tenderneſs towards *Valentinian*, that he thought his Maſter infinitely happy in ſo ſincere a Friend. The Tyrant had long been contriving in ſecret what Courſe he was to take to march his Army into *Italy*; the long and uſual Way over the *Alps* would be dangerous for ſo great a Body of Men, and afford *Valentinian* time to prepare for his Reception; and to thoſe nearer and more commodious Paſſages he was an utter Stranger: But now the better to compaſs his Deſigns, he deliver'd part of his Army into *Domninus* his Hands as for the Emperor's Uſe, to ſerve him againſt the Barbarians that began to infeſt *Pannonia*; with which unexpected Supply *Domninus* return'd, wonderfully exalted at the Succeſs of his

Maximus his Policy.

his Negotiations, and march'd at the Head of his Forces the neareſt and ſafeſt Way into *Italy*. *Maximus*, who found his Stratagem met with the deſir'd Effect, follow'd with the reſt of the Army at a convenient Diſtance behind, ſending ſome light Parties before him, who were to obſerve the Way *Dominus* took, and intercept all they met, and by that Means keep his Expedition ſecret. His Orders were ſo exactly obſerv'd, that he got ſafe into *Italy* without meeting any Enemy to oppoſe him, and directed his Courſe immediately to *Aquileia*. *Valentinian* was ſo much terrify'd at his unexpected Approach, that he immediately embark'd with his Mother and Siſter, and ſet ſail for *Theſſalonica*; where when he was arrived he ſent and intreated *Theodoſius* to chaſtiſe the Uſurper, for the Injuries offer'd to the Family of *Valentinian*. Hereupon *Theodoſius* remov'd with ſome of the Senate to *Theſſalonica*, where it was reſolv'd in Council to puniſh *Maximus*, who had not only by his treaſonable Practices murder'd *Gratian* and uſurp'd his Authority, but attempted the ſame upon *Valentinian*, and had now driven him out of his Dominions. Purſuant to this Reſolution *Theodoſius* prepared to march againſt him, and having promoted ſuch Perſons to the chief Offices in the Provinces, as he knew would in his Abſence have a regard to the Good of his Subjects, he made *Promotus* General of the Foot, and *Timaſius* of the Horſe. He ſent the Empreſs *Juſtina*, with her Son and Daughter under a good Guard to *Rome*, prudently conceiving that by their Preſence they would encourage the Inhabitants to defend the City againſt any Attempts of *Maximus*, to whom he knew the Citizens were generally diſaffected; reſolving himſelf to march through the upper *Pannonia*, and fall on a ſudden upon the Enemy from the *Appennine* Mountains. *Maximus*, who continu'd all this

Theodoſius *reſolves to chaſtiſe* Maximus.

A. D. 388.

while at *Aquileia*, had notice of the Preparations that were making againſt him, and uſed all his Endeavours to diſappoint and prevent him. He had by mighty Promiſes perſuaded the Barbarians, in conjunction with the *Roman* Legions, by way of Diverſion to revolt, and find *Theodoſius* work in *Thrace*, and give him the more time to confirm his Power in *Italy*. Of theſe his Practices the Emperor had timely Intelligence, and broke all his Meaſures by ſending a ſufficient Number of Troops, that diſperſed the Barbarians before they could unite themſelves into any conſiderable Body, and having ſettled all things in thoſe Quarters he prepared for his Expedition.

Maximus being inform'd that *Juſtina* deſign'd to croſs the *Ionian* Gulf in her way to *Rome*, mann'd out a few Pinnaces, and ſent *Andragathius* if poſſible to intercept her; who, tho' he uſed the utmoſt Expedition, fail'd of his Deſign, for ſhe had paſs'd the Gulf before his Arrival; whereupon he ſtrengthen'd his Squadron by the Acceſſion of ſeveral other Ships, deſigning to diſpute the Paſſage with *Theodoſius*, who he thought would tranſport his Forces over the Sea. But the Emperor, purſuant to his former Reſolutions, directed his March towards *Pannonia*, and the *Appennines*; whilſt *Maximus*, having as he thought ſecured himſelf of *Italy* and *Africk*, was intent upon raiſing Mony, making uſe of the vileſt and moſt ſhameful Means that would ſerve to his Purpoſe, 'till the News of *Theodoſius* his Preparations diverted him from his Extortions. As ſoon as he was inform'd of the Emperor's Motions he march'd at the Head of his Army over the *Julian Alps* into *Pannonia*, to make ſure of the Paſſes in thoſe Quarters, and having fortify'd *Petovio*, which was ſurrender'd to him, he moved with all Expedition to *Sciſcia*, call'd at preſent *Seſcec*, where he

he ſtaid to refreſh his Army. Thither *Theodoſius* advanced againſt him, and having paſs'd the *Save* he drew his Men out and offer'd him Battel, which he accepted and was defeated, tho' his Men fought with a great deal of Courage and Reſolution. This Victory, which was very extraordinary, coſt *Theodoſius* but a few Men, the Loſs of whom was more than ſupply'd by a part of *Maximus* his Army, which ſurrender'd themſelves up to him. From hence he march'd againſt *Marcellinus*, Brother to the Uſurper, who had ſtrengthen'd himſelf at *Petovio*, not *Padua*, as ſome have miſtaken it, whom he totally routed; and purſuing the courſe of his Fortune, he follow'd *Maximus* cloſe upon the Heels, and ſate down before *Aquileia*, where the Uſurper had ſecured himſelf, and provided for a Siege, which *Theodoſius* puſh'd on with much Vigour. They within defended themſelves at firſt with much Bravery, but finding the Emperor reſolv'd to carry the Town, and obſerving *Maximus* to deſpond, and as it were ſhake off that Sovereignty he had ſo tyrannically uſurp'd, they ſeiz'd upon him, bound him, and preſented him to *Theodoſius*, having firſt ſtripp'd him of his Imperial Ornaments. The Emperor beheld him with Eyes of Compaſſion, and out of a juſt ſenſe of Fortune's Inconſtancy had pardon'd him, had not thoſe about him perceiv'd it in his Looks, which melted with Pity towards him, and taking him out of his ſight cut off his Head, without any Order from *Theodoſius*. *Andragathius*, whom *Maximus* had made his Admiral, as we obſerv'd before, hearing of the Tyrant's Defeat as he was cruiſing to and fro upon the *Ionian* Bay, threw himſelf headlong into the Sea, there to receive the Reward due to his Cruelty and Treaſon: And *Victor*, the Son of *Maximus*, who had been declared *Auguſtus* by his Father, and left to command in *Gaul*, was defeated,

Maximus overthrown

retires to Aquileia,

where he is taken,

and beheaded.

taken, and slain, by *Arbogastes*, whom *Valentinian* had sent thither for that purpose. Thus did *Theodosius* by his Vigour and Conduct put a speedy End to a War, which at first promis'd it self a longer Continuance, and threaten'd the Empire with a great many Calamities. And the Honour and Reputation he acquir'd in his Success, was highly improv'd by his Moderation and Clemency in the Use of it; for he not only settled *Valentinian* in the peaceable Possession of *Italy*, his own Share of the Empire, but relinquish'd to him *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and *Britain*, with whatever else the Tyrant had seiz'd on after the Murder of *Gratian*, being satisfy'd with the Good he had done, without drawing any particular Advantage from it to himself. And so far was he from oppressing *Maximus* his Friends and Relations, that except two or three of the most seditious, who were put to Death as an Example of Terror to others, he pardon'd all those who had embrac'd the Usurper's Interest; so that under so merciful a Conqueror they felt not that they were conquer'd. He sent for *Maximus* his Wife and Daughters out of their Confinement, settled an honourable Pension upon 'em for their Lives, and charged a near Kinsman of their own to take care of their Interests, and see that no body oppress'd 'em.

Theodosius *his great Moderation and Clemency.*

Theodosius continu'd the rest of this Year partly at *Aquileia*, and partly at *Milan*, where he publish'd an Edict on the 9th of *October*, by which he revoked all the publick Acts made by *Maximus*, whom he terms *Infandissimus Tyrannorum*; but the Year following he went with *Valentinian* and his Son *Honorius* to *Rome*, and resided there the greatest part of the Summer. Here he was receiv'd with all the Respect due to his Person and Dignity; and whilst he was follow'd with Applauses and Acclamations from the Senate and People, for his late Success against

A. D. 389.

againſt *Maximus*, he behav'd himſelf in every reſpect with the profoundeſt Humility, appropriating nothing to himſelf, but referring all to God Almighty, who had choſen *Valentinian* and himſelf as his Inſtruments of Revenge upon a Tyrant and Uſurper. During his Reſidence in this City he labour'd ſeriouſly in the Suppreſſion of Idolatry, ſhutting up the Temples of the Heathen Deities, commanding their Statues to be remov'd from thence, and to be erected in the Publick Parts of the City to ſerve as Ornaments to it. The Chriſtian Inhabitants, animated by the Zeal *Theodoſius* expreſs'd for Religion, broke down the Images, thoſe deteſted Objects of Idolatry; and if we may believe *Zoſimus*, ſeiz'd upon the precious Ornaments with which the Ignorance and Superſtition of former Ages had wonderfully enrich'd 'em; and what ſeem'd to concern him more nearly than all the reſt, burnt the Books of the *Sybills*, the Sacred Oracles of the Bigotted Heathens, and thereby gave a fatal Stroke to Paganiſm; from whence we may gather how much they are in the right, who affirm, that the Books that appear under that Quality at preſent are Suppoſitious, ſent into the World by ſome Peſtilent Pen in the early Days of Chriſtianity, to pervert and corrupt a great many well-meaning Men in the Times ſucceeding, and give Birth to ſome dangerous and mortal Errors that by degrees crept into the Church. As the Emperor's Preſence and Authority encourag'd the Chriſtians at *Rome* to extirpate Idolatry, ſo did his Example inſpire the *Alexandrians* in *Egypt* with the like Zeal, which however made a greater Noiſe, and occaſion'd the Effuſion of ſome Blood. *Theophilus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, had begg'd of the Emperor an old Heathen Temple, at that time ruin'd and forſaken, to convert it to a Chriſtian Church, to which the

He commanded the Heathen Temples at Rome *to be ſhut up.*

A bloody Tumult at Alexandria.

Emperor readily condescended. As they were clearing it of the Rubbish, the Workmen found among the Ruins several filthy obscene Figures of *Priapus*, which the Bishop order'd to be expos'd in Publick, to ridicule the Superstition of the ancient *Egyptians*; and about the same time they discover'd their Subterraneous Grottoes, where they usually perform'd their abominable Sacrifices. The Heathens, exceedingly scandaliz'd at these Affronts, fell in great Fury upon the Christians, some of whom they wounded, others they kill'd; and seizing upon the Temple of *Serapis*, built upon a Hill by one of the first Kings of *Egypt*, call'd *Sesostris*, they fortify'd it, and in their frequent Excursions seiz'd upon the Christians, whom they constrain'd to Sacrifice to their Idol, or upon their Refusal they fix'd 'em on a Cross, where they were put to unspeakable Torments. The Emperor being inform'd of this Tumult, gave Order to the Magistrates of the City, *Not to revenge upon the* Pagans *the Death of those who had obtain'd the Crown of Martyrdom at their Hands, but rather pardon 'em, and try by gentle Methods to win 'em over to Christianity*; but however he commanded 'em *to destroy all the Temples that had given Birth to the Sedition*; these Orders were exactly observ'd to the great Joy of the Christians, and Confusion of their Adversaries, who had been taught by their Traditions, that the Inundations of the River *Nile*, from whence proceeded the Fertility of their Country, was owing to the benign Influence of their God *Serapis*; and they concluded therefore, that now he was destroy'd, the River would no longer overflow, the Consequence of which would be an universal Famine; but when afterwards they observ'd on the contrary, that the *Nile* swell'd to a much higher degree than had been known in the Memory of Man, and thereby

thereby produc'd a great Plenty of all manner of Proviſions, a great many of the Heathens renounc'd their ancient Errors, and worſhipp'd the God of the Chriſtians, who makes the Sun to riſe, and the Rain deſcend upon the Earth.

Theodoſius, before he left *Rome*, is ſaid effectually to have reform'd two abominable Abuſes, which were at that time a great Scandal and Diſgrace to that Queen of Cities, as *Socrates* terms her; there were large and ancient Buildings in *Rome*, reſerv'd as Store-houſes of Bread wherewith the City was ſupply'd; under theſe Buildings were the Bake-houſes, and on each ſide of 'em, through the Connivance of the Overſeers, were built Victualling and Tipling Houſes, where Women were entertain'd for lewd Purpoſes, and many who reſorted thither, either to ſatisfie their Hunger, or gratifie their Luſt, were ſtripp'd of all they had, and commonly ſo diſpos'd of, by means of a private Conveyance out of thoſe Tipling Houſes into the blind Bake-houſe beneath, where they were compell'd to Grind, and ſo kept in perpetual Slavery, that their Friends could never hear of 'em after. It happen'd that one of the Emperor's Soldiers was thrown into this Hole, and ſo receiv'd into the blind Bake-houſe, where, finding himſelf like to be made a Slave, he drew his Dagger, of which they had forgot to Diſarm him, and killing all thoſe that oppos'd his Paſſage he eſcap'd, and got means to inform the Emperor of it, who immediately commanded the Overſeers to be puniſh'd as they deſerv'd, and order'd their Houſes, the Receptacles of Theives, to be demoliſh'd. The other Abuſe, which he took care to have remov'd, was this. It was cuſtomary in *Rome* to inflict ſuch a Puniſhment on a Woman taken in Adultery, as remov'd not the Sin, but increas'd the Vice, for they confin'd her to narrow Stews, where

Theodoſius *reforms ſome things at* Rome.

ſhe was compell'd to Proſtitute her ſelf, without any Shame, to ſuch Adventurers as were provided for her; and whilſt the Deed was doing her Neighbours were inform'd by the means of ſome ſounding Veſſel prepar'd for that purpoſe, that ſhe was that Moment under Correction; this horrible Cuſtom *Theodoſius* aboliſh'd, and enacted other Laws for the Puniſhment of Women taken in Adultery. For the laſt of theſe Stories the Reader has no more than *Socrates* his Word, and therefore he is at Liberty to believe it or not, but the other is ſupported with better Authority.

A. D. 390. From *Rome* both the Emperors remov'd by the way of *Valentia* to *Milan*, when *Valentinian* was declared the fourth time Conſul, together with *Neotherius*, and as if he had ſome Jealouſie of what ſhortly after follow'd, he publiſh'd an Order that no one ſhould be admitted to attend upon his Perſon, but ſuch as had firſt receiv'd his own Approbation; the Year following *Theodoſius* remov'd towards the Eaſt, being accompany'd by *Valentinian* as far as *Aquileia*, where he left him, and proceeding on his Way to *Conſtantinople*. He arriv'd at *Theſſalonica*, where he found the Affairs of *Macedonia* to be in a great Confuſion; for the Barbarians, who at the Inſtigation of *Maximus*, had revolted juſt as he was ent'ring upon his Expedition againſt the Uſurper, and upon his ſending a part of his Forces to reduce 'em, had ſecured themſelves among the Lakes and Faſtneſſes in the Woods, taking the Advantage of his Abſence, broke out of their Holds, and ravaged *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia* without any Oppoſition, diſpoſing of the Lives and Fortunes of the Inhabitants at their own Pleaſures; but as ſoon as they heard of the Emperor's Succeſs, and his Return, they again withdrew into their Dens, from whence they ſtole out ſecretly in the Night-time, and ſeizing on whatever came in their way, they return'd

return'd with their Booty before the Morning Light. These secret Excursions, and nocturnal Depredations, made *Theodosius* imagine the Aggressors were Spirits and Apparitions, rather than Men; but being resolv'd, if possible, to find out the Truth, without discovering his Designs to any one, he made choice of Five Persons in whom he could trust to attend him, ordering 'em to take three or four spare Horses a-peice, that they might shift as often as there was occasion. Thus attended, and in a Disguise, he rang'd about the Country, receiving from the Peasants such Refreshments as their Cottages could afford him. At length he came to a small Inn, kept by an old Woman, who receiv'd him very civilly, entertaining him with Wine and what other Conveniences she had in the House, and Night coming on he was perswaded to Lodge there 'till the Morning; when he was retir'd into his Chamber he observ'd a certain Man, who declin'd Conversing with him, and seem'd desirous to conceal himself. The Emperor surpriz'd at his Carriage calls for his Hostess, and demands of her who that Person was; she answer'd, that who he was she knew not, but ever since the News of the Emperor's Return with the Army out of the West this Man had lodg'd at her House, going out in the Morning, and continuing abroad all Day, but at Night repaired home, as from Work, to his Supper and his Lodging, for which he honestly paid her. Upon this Information the Emperor order'd the Man to be seiz'd, and commanded him to declare who and what he was; which he refus'd with much Obstinacy, 'till the Emperor had declared himself to him, and his Followers had with several Tortures forced the Truth out of him; then he confess'd that he was employ'd, as a Spy, by the Barbarians that lay among the Bogs, to give 'em Intelligence from

time

time to time where he lay with his Army, and what Persons and Places lay the most commodious for their Incursions.

Defeats the Barbarians.

Hereupon the Emperor caus'd his Head to be struck off, and returning early the next Morning to the Army, led his Soldiers to that Place where he had learnt from the Spy the Barbarians were lodg'd, and falling at an Advantage upon 'em destroy'd a great Number of 'em, killing the most resolute as they defended themselves in the Bogs, and dragging the rest out of their Retirements. One *Timasius* had at this time a Principal Command in the Army, who, according to *Zosimus*, could not but admire the extraordinary Courage of the Emperor, who appear'd the foremost in all Dangers; he conceiving the greatest number of the Barbarians to be Slain, and that the rest could not escape them, whom therefore they might pursue at their leisure, desir'd the Emperor would allow the weary and hungry Soldiers time to refresh themselves after so warm and desperate a Service, to which *Theodosius* readily consented, so that sounding a Retreat they gave over the Pursuit, and falling too with more Appetite than Discretion, they first overcame themselves with Wine, and then fell fast asleep, and thereby gave the Barbarians an Advantage they were too wary to omit. They fell with great Fury upon the *Romans*, who were unprepar'd to defend themselves against an Enemy they thought already vanquish'd, and had destroy'd the Emperor himself, had he not been seasonably reliev'd by *Promotus*, who rescu'd his Master at the great Hazard of his own Life. This piece of Service undoubtedly deserv'd a great Reward, but such, according to *Zosimus*, was the unhappy Influence *Rufinus*, a Person we shall hear more of hereafter, had upon this Emperor, that he procur'd him to be mur-

He is in great Danger.

murder'd; tho' whether this was done by *Theodosius* his Privity, or *Rufinus* his treacherous Practices with the Barbarians, by whose Hands he fell, remains still a Doubt among the other Historians of those Times. Certain it is *Rufinus* was a Person of great Interest with the Emperor, and being a Man of a bold aspiring Temper, he look'd on *Promotus* as a great Obstacle to his ambitious Designs.

The Emperor had hitherto try'd by Force of Arms to restrain those Rovers, but the more effectually to suppress 'em he publish'd a Law, by which the Provincials of *Macedonia* had Power to resist, and cut off those who enter'd upon their Possessions, or lay lurking in the High-way; thereby abrogating an old Edict, forbidding any private Man to levy War without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Emperor.

At his Arrival at *Constantinople*, *Fl. Arcadius* the second time, and *Rufinus* were declared Consuls; here finding himself for the present free from any Foreign Disturbances, he began diligently to enquire into the Corruptions that had lately crept into the State, reforming by several wholesom but severe Laws a great many Abuses, that during the Publick Calamities had been practised by his Officers. From this his Fatherly Care he was diverted by News out of the West, where *Valentinian* was found strangled in his Palace. *Theodosius*, during his Stay in *Italy*, had, as we observ'd before, us'd all means to extirpate Heathenism, restraining by his Authority those who appear'd the most zealous Patrons for it; but at his Return they began to conceive new Hopes, and apply'd to *Valentinian* for his Favour and Protection, which when they were deny'd they enter'd upon new Measures, and consulted how to purchase a Toleration at the price of Treason. *Arbogastes*, a *Frank* by Nation, had at this

A. D. 392.

time

time the Chief Command in the Army; he ow'd his firſt Preferment to *Gratian*, and after his Death wonderfully gain'd upon the Soldiers, who eſteem'd him for his Experience in Military Affairs, and his great Contempt of Mony, and made him General without the Participation of *Valentinian*, ſo that he arrogated a Power to himſelf of controlling the Emperor, and reprehending him for whatever he thought done amiſs. To him the diſaffected Party apply'd themſelves, and encourag'd him to deſtroy that Power he had already ſupplanted. About this time *Valentinian* was inform'd the Barbarians began to threaten the Borders of *Italy*, and being then in *Gaul* reſolv'd to march againſt 'em, and chaſtiſe their Inſolence; but whilſt he was conſulting in Council the propereſt Means to forward his Expedition, he was thwarted in all his Deſigns by *Arbogaſtes*, with whoſe Inſolence he was ſo much provok'd, that he drew out his Sword, and attempted to kill him, declaring he had rather kill himſelf than bear the Title of Emperor without enjoying the Authority; but being with-held by ſome who ſtood near him, he threw *Arbogaſtes* a Paper, which contain'd an Abrogation of his Command: *Arbogaſtes*, when he had perus'd the Contents of it, tore it in pieces, declaring that he receiv'd not his Authority from him, nor ſhould it be in his Power to diveſt him of it; and from this time us'd the unfortunate Prince more like a Priſoner than his Soveraign, diſpoſing of the Chief Commands in the Army according to his own Pleaſure, and placing ſuch about him, who obſerv'd him rather as Spies, than obey'd him as Servants. In this melancholy Condition *Valentinian* ſent and deſir'd Aid from *Theodoſius*, but *Arbogaſtes* was gone ſo far now, that he found it neceſſary to proceed farther, and made good that old Saying, That there is but a ſmall diſtance between

the

the Prisons and Graves of Princes; and therefore got him privately to be murder'd at *Vienna* in *France*; having corrupted some of the Officers belonging to his Chamber, who strangled him whilst he was asleep, and tying a Cord about his Neck hung him up, that the World might be induced to think he kill'd himself, and not tax them with his Murder. *Arbogastes* had no mind to appear guilty of so barbarous a Treason himself, and therefore would not openly usurp the Imperial Authority, but chose rather to confer it on *Eugenius*, who was to be Prince only by his Permission and Allowance. *Eugenius* was a Man of great Learning, an accomplish'd Orator, elegant and facetious, but very uncapable of the Sovereign Dignity to which he was design'd. Tho' *Arbogastes* endeavour'd to divert from himself the Odium of so unnatural a Treason, yet he is charged with it by all the Writers of that Age, who however seem not to condemn him so much as his Guilt deserv'd; whether this proceeded from the Hopes they at first conceiv'd of *Eugenius*, or out of Complaisance to *Theodosius*, who in the end was a Gainer by his Death, having the Sovereign Authority united in his own Family, is hard to determine.

Valentinian *murder'd.*

Eugenius *usurps.*

The Ecclesiastical Writers say his Death was a publick Loss to the World, and even *Zosimus* himself raises no Charge against him. Had he been suffer'd to live longer he had undoubtedly proved an excellent Prince, being of a lively Spirit, valiant, sober, liberal, sincere in his Friendship, and devout in his Religion. He had in his Youth been comitted to the Care of St. *Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*, whose Instructions made him an Enemy to Vice before he was capable of learning what it was. Tho' he was young he was an absolute Master of his Passions, and was generally more severe to himself than

The Character of Valentinian.

he

he was to others. He was murder'd at *Vienna* in *France*, after he had reign'd ſixteen Years and an half, and lived upwards of twenty.

IV. Tho' all good Men were ſenſibly afflicted at the Death of this innocent Prince, none appear'd ſo nearly touch'd as *Theodoſius*, who had now loſt a Collegue and Ally in the flower of his Age, deſtroy'd by the treaſonable Practices of thoſe, of whom he had great Reaſon to be jealous; for *Arbogaſtes* was bold and valiant, and *Eugenius* renown'd for his Learning and other Virtues; ſo that he made all Preparations poſſible for a War: In the midſt of which Embaſſadors arrived from *Eugenius* the Uſurper, who, without taking the leaſt notice of *Arbogaſtes*, demanded of him if he would admit of *Eugenius* as his Collegue, or conſider him as his Enemy. *Theodoſius*, according to his Cuſtom, amuſed the Embaſſadors with fair Words and Royal Preſents, diſmiſſing 'em with ambiguous Anſwers, whilſt he apply'd himſelf with great Diligence to his Military Preparations, in which he ſpent almoſt two Years, concealing as much as poſſible his Deſigns 'till he was able to put 'em in execution. Like a Chriſtian, he made uſe of the Means Chriſtianity ſuggeſted to him, in order to obtain the Divine Favour, publiſhing a new Edict at *Conſtantinople* againſt the Heathen Worſhip, and reviving the ancient Laws againſt Hereticks, their Ordinations and Aſſemblies; and like a Father of his People abrogated an old Law, which puniſh'd thoſe with Death, who ſpoke ſeditious Words againſt the Prince; *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *if they proceed from Levity they are to be deſpiſed, if from Madneſs to be pitied, if from Malice to be forgiven.*

A. D. 393. Honorius *declared Emperor.*

The Beginning of this Year *Theodoſius* had declared his Younger Son *Honorius* Emperor, and intending to leave *Arcadius* behind at *Conſtantinople*, he

he committed him to the Care of *Rufinus*, who was thereby veſted with almoſt an unlimited Power. The Emperor ſtrengthen'd his own regular Troops with the Addition of ſeveral Barbarians inhabiting the other ſide the *Danube* and *Euxine* Sea, who made him a voluntary Offer of their Service, and were of great uſe to him in this War, under the Coduct of *Alaric* the *Goth*, who afterwards took *Rome*, and was the firſt that led the Barbarians into *Italy*. For during this War they had an Opportunity of viewing the Country, of obſerving the moſt advantageous Paſſes, the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, Strength of the State, and number of the Inhabitants; and ſo were the better encouraged to return afterwards with greater Numbers, and ſubdue thoſe they were now come to ſerve. Having appointed *Timaſius*, *Bacurius*, and *Stilicho*, who had marry'd his Brother's Daughter, Commanders in chief, he began his Expedition the thirteenth of *March* the Year following, directing his March through *Thrace* into *Pannonia*, and deſigning from thence to break through the *Julian Alps* into *Italy*, which the Uſurper had lately got into his own Power, and being arrived at *Milan*, tho' he had hitherto made a Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, he turn'd aſide to the heatheniſh Superſtitions at the Inſtigation chiefly of *Flavianus* Præfect of *Rome*, who promis'd him mighty Advantages from the Inſpection of the Sacrifices, and Obſervation of the Stars; aſſuring him he was deſign'd by Fate to reſtore the ancient Greatneſs and Religion of the *Romans*, and that he would in time be ſole Emperor of the World. Hereupon he was perſuaded to allow 'em the free Exerciſe of their Religion, to re-edifie the Altar of Victory, and whatever elſe had been formerly deny'd 'em by the Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*: And hearing of *Theodoſius* his Forwardneſs he muſtered his Forces,

ces, and so set out from *Milan*, accompany'd by *Arbogastes* and *Flavianus*, whom he had made his Lieutenant-Generals, swearing publickly at his Departure, that if ever he lived to return victorious he would put all the Priests to death, and make a Stable of the great Church; because looking upon him as an Apostate and Usurper they would not accept of his Offerings, nor suffer him to communicate in Prayer with the rest of the Faithful.

Eugenius used so much Diligence in his March, that a detach'd Party had seiz'd on the *Julian Alps* before *Theodosius* could come up, who however attack'd the Guards with so much Bravery and Resolution, that he easily beat 'em out of that advantageous Post. *Flavian* the Præfect, fighting with much Obstinacy, was slain in this Action, in whose Fall *Eugenius* his Party suffer'd a considerable Loss. *Theodosius* trusting to his Cause, and his propitious Fortune, push'd on with great Alacrity, and having without much Difficulty pass'd the Mountain, he descended with all his Forces into the Plain, where he offer'd his Enemy Battel, which *Eugenius* with great Readiness accepted. The Emperor disposed his Army into two Batallions, one consisting of the Barbarians, under the Command of *Gaines* and *Bacurius*, the other of the *Romans* led on by *Stilicho*; encouraging his Soldiers by his Presence and Discourse, admonishing 'em to behave themselves like Men, confiding in the Protection of their *Saviour*, under whose Banner they fought. On the other side *Eugenius* had erected the Standard of *Hercules*, and behaved himself like a Man sure of Victory, deluded by the vain Promises of the Heathen Priests, who in the Name of their Deities had promised him an entire Conquest. At a Signal given both Armies engaged, and *Zosimus* saith that during the Fight there happen'd so great an Eclipse that for a long

Theodosius *engages with* Eugenius,

time

time the Sun was almoſt totally darkened; however the Fight continu'd with great Slaughter, 'till in the End *Eugenius* prevail'd, for the Barbarians being unable to ſtand the Shock of the *Roman* Legions gave ground, and were moſt of 'em cut off together with *Bacurius* their Commander. Night coming on both Parties retreated to their Camps, where *Eugenius*, concluding himſelf the Victor, and that nothing was to be fear'd from *Theodoſius* after ſo great a Defeat, rewarded ſuch of his Men as had behaved themſelves beſt, diſmiſſing 'em all to their Eaſe and Refreſhment. In the mean time *Theodoſius* was adviſed by ſuch as were about him not to hazard a ſecond Engagement, but rely upon the Fortune of another Campaign, againſt which time he would have leiſure to recruit his Army, and be able to match his Enemy with an equal Number of Men; but the Emperor collecting the Remainder of his Forces by Break of Day, fell with an unexpected Bravery upon the Enemy, ſecurely ſleeping in their Camp, killing all ſuch who had not time to make any Defence or beg for Quarter, and by this means reſcued the Victory out of the Hands of a preſumptuous Uſurper, who ſeem'd to want nothing but the Head of *Theodoſius* to crown his Succeſs. This is chiefly the Account *Zoſimus* gives of the Fight, in the Subſtance of which he agrees with others that have writ concerning it, only they make no mention of an Eclipſe, inſtead of which they aſſure us, that in the ſecond Engagement ſo violent a Tempeſt aroſe, as the Memory of Man could not equal, that it drove ſo furiouſly upon the Army of the Uſurper that it turn'd their Arrows and Javelins back upon themſelves, and rais'd ſo great a Duſt as depriv'd them of their Sight, ſo that having two Enemies to encounter at once they were quickly overthrown. In the beginning of the Fight *Eugeni-*

and defeats him

us had promiſed a great Reward to thoſe who ſhould bring him *Theodoſius* alive or dead, thinking it impoſſible for him to eſcape; but now aſtoniſh'd at the impetuous Violence of the Tempeſt, and concluding from thence that they fought againſt Providence, ſeveral of his Troops deſpairing of Succeſs went and ſurrender'd themſelves to the Emperor, begging Pardon for their Offence, and ſwearing an inviolable Loyalty for the future. *Theodoſius* receiv'd 'em into Grace, and order'd 'em to bring *Eugenius* into his Preſence. The Uſurper obſerving ſome coming in great haſte towards him concluded they brought him News of the Victory, and inſtantly asked if they had not ſecured *Theodoſius*; they return'd him no Anſwer, but to his Aſtoniſhment bound him and hurried him away to the Emperor, who reproach'd him for his Cruelty towards his Maſter *Valentinian*, accus'd him for the Calamities he had by the War brought upon the Empire, and upbraided him for putting his Confidence in *Hercules*, in Diſtruſt and Defiance of the only true God; and without waiting for his Anſwer order'd his Head to be ſtruck off. *Arbogaſtes*, whoſe Conſcience told him he had great reaſon to expect the ſame Puniſhment, turn'd his own Executioner, and laid violent Hands upon himſelf; tho' the good Emperor made the ſame Uſe of this Victory as he had done of thoſe that preceded, bewailing the innocent Blood that had been ſpilt in the War, and as if he himſelf had been the Author of it, for which reaſon he abſtain'd for ſome time from participating in the holy Myſteries of the Euchariſt. The Children of *Eugenius* and *Flavian* had great reaſon to think they were to ſuffer for the Rebellion of their Fathers, and therefore betook themſelves to Sanctuary, but by the Interceſſion of St. *Ambroſe*, who came to *Aquileia* there to congratulate *Theodoſius* for his late Victory, the Emperor not only

Eugenius *taken,*

and beheaded.

Theodoſius *his Moderation.*

only pardon'd them, but gave Order to have 'em inſtructed and confirm'd in the Principles of the true Religion, and to be advanc'd to honourable Employments in the State; acquiring not ſo much Glory from his Succeſs in the Field, as from ſuch Actions as theſe, truly worthy a Chriſtian Prince, never enough to be commended, imitated, and admired. From *Aquileia* he removed to *Milan*, whither his Son *Honorius* came according to his Order from *Conſtantinople* to attend him; for he now found himſelf indiſpoſed, and inclinable to a Dropſie, which carry'd him off in a ſhort time after.

About this time ſeveral Countries were ſhaken with violent Earthquakes, others were drown'd with exceſſive Rains, attended by ſo great a Darkneſs as had not been obſerv'd for a long time before; all which the Hiſtorians of thoſe times ſeem to apply as Omens deſign'd to uſher in the Fall of that great Man, and the Loſs the *Roman* Empire was to ſuſtain in his Death. He was now arrived at the height of human Happineſs, for he had not only vindicated the Imperial Authority from Uſurpation and Tyranny, but exerciſed it without a Competitor, and united it in his own Family. He was faithfully ſerved by his Subjects, and admired by his very Enemies; and tho' he found it impoſſible to extirpate the Barbarians that had taken too deep a Root within the *Roman* Pale, yet he repreſs'd and in ſome meaſure civiliz'd 'em: And now as he was preparing to remove to *Conſtantinople*, there to enjoy the Fruit of his Labours, he was ſeiz'd with a fatal Diſtemper at *Milan*, which put an end to his Life and all his future Deſigns. As ſoon as he perceived himſelf to be in danger he made his Will, in which he made a Diviſion of the Empire, bequeathing the Eaſt to his eldeſt Son *Arcadius*, aged about 18 Years, and the Weſt to *Honorius*, who was then

He falls ſick,

almoſt eleven; recommending the one to *Ruſinus* his Care and Direction, and the other to that of *Stilicho*, who was made General of the Army. He at the ſame time eaſed the People of ſeveral Impoſitions, and pardon'd many Criminals; and reſigning himſelf with a chearful Mind to the Will of God, he expi-

and Dies. red at *Milan* on the 17th of *January*, after a glorious Reign of ſixteen Years, and in the fiftieth of his Age according to ſome, tho' others ſay he lived ſixty, *An. Ur.* 1147. the 3d of the 293d Olympiad, in the Conſulſhip of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, *An. Dom.* 395.

His Character. The Reader will eaſily conclude *Theodoſius* dy'd univerſally lamented, when he conſiders that he ſeem'd ſent as a publick Bleſſing into the World; and that he was call'd to the Empire when the Neceſſities of the State requir'd a Perſon of Experience, Courage, Conduct, and Perſeverance. He ow'd much to Fortune, but more to himſelf, and was made Emperor more for the ſake of thoſe he was to govern than his own. His Virtues were as great whilſt he liv'd a private Life, but became afterwards more conſpicuous, and as at firſt he diſcountenanc'd Vice by his Example, ſo he afterwards ſuppreſs'd it by his Authority; his Modeſty at firſt refus'd that Power which the moſt deſerving of his Predeceſſors had courted with Ambition, but he made it appear in the Iſſue that no Man knew how to be Great better than himſelf. He was a Prince of exemplary Temperance; curious in the choice of his great Officers and Counſellors; juſt to his Friends, and generous even to his Enemies. In him we may ſay were collected all the rare Qualities that were ſo eminent in the firſt *Romans*, he had the Chaſtneſs of the *Pontifices*, the Moderation of the *Conſuls*, the Grandure of the *Patricians*, and the Meekneſs and Humility of the *Clients*. The Wars he was engag'd

in

in during his Reign were of other Mens kindling, not his own, and he only by his Courage and Conduct put a ſtop to what others by their Tyranny and Ambition had begun. How kind a Father he was to the Publick appears in his leſſening the Burden of Taxes, and that at a time, according to *Themiſtius*, when he had ſuch an Army on Foot as the *Roman* Empire hardly ever ſaw before. He was Juſt in his Dealings to all Men, but fond of thoſe that were good, making the Greatneſs of his Mind appear in his Liberality and Munificence towards 'em. He is ſaid both in Body and Mind to have reſembled *Trajan*, only *Theodoſius* was more Graceful and Majeſtick; beſides he was a Stranger to *Trajan*'s Vices, ſuch as Drunkenneſs, Incontinence and Ambition. In this Character of *Theodoſius* all the Heathen Authors of thoſe Times unanimouſly agree, except *Zoſimus*, who injuriouſly taxes him with Incontinency, Sloth and Voluptuouſneſs; tho' at the ſame time the force of Truth is prevalent in him, when he confeſſes, that as by Nature this Prince was idle and unactive, giving himſelf up to all manner of Debauchery, when the Affairs of the State left him at leiſure for it; ſo when ever he was call'd upon by any imminent Danger, which threaten'd the Publick Safety, he rouz'd himſelf as from a Dream, ſhook off thoſe Vices of his Nature, and went as readily to Work as if Labour and Difficulties had been familiar to him. Chriſtian Authors have deſervedly commended him upon another Account, his Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion, in which he equall'd, if not excell'd any of his Glorious Predeceſſors; many Inſtances they have given us of his great Care for, and Submiſſion to the Ordinances of the Church, and of his Spiritual Obedience. *Sozomen* tells us, that

whilſt the Emperor continu'd in *Italy* after the Defeat of *Maximus*, an Inſurrection happen'd at *Theſſalonica*, in which the Seditious kill'd *Botericus*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Illyricum*, and ſeveral of the Magiſtrates; that *Theodoſius* being inform'd of it commanded a great number of the Mutineers to be put to Death, but at the Interceſſion of St. *Ambroſe* he revok'd his Orders, and pardon'd them. Some time after ſeveral of the Great Men in his Court repreſented to him, that the *Theſſalonians* had been encourag'd to this Sedition by his too great Indulgence ſhown to thoſe at *Antioch*, and upon many other occaſions, and that if he permitted 'em to go unpuniſh'd, his Officers for the future would be in continual Danger of their Lives, and that he would be conſtantly alarm'd with ſome new Commotions. The Emperor was ſenſibly affected with this Remonſtrance, and inſtantly diſmiſs'd ſome of his Troops to *Theſſalonica*, where in three Days time they cruelly maſſacred above ſeven Thouſand People, without regard either to Age, Sex or Condition, murdering the Innocent as well as Guilty. At this time an Aſſembly of Biſhops was held at *Milan*, who all expreſs'd how much they abhorr'd ſo exceſſive a Severity in the Prince. Whereupon St. *Ambroſe* writ a Letter to *Theodoſius*, in which, with a Confidence no way injurious to the Reſpect he ow'd his Soveraign, he repreſented to him the Enormity of his Crime, and exhorted him to make an Atonement by a ſincere Submiſſion and Repentance. The Emperor being arriv'd at *Milan*, was going to perform his Devotions in the great Church, into which St. *Ambroſe* deny'd him Entrance, 'till he had expiated ſo Publick a Crime by as Publick a Penance. To this the Emperor readily ſubmitted, and return'd to his Palace with Tears in his Eyes,

Eyes, and a Heart full of Divine Contrition, and perform'd with a moſt Chriſtian Submiſſion all the Duties of an open Penance, as they were enjoin'd by the Cannons of the Church, and the Cuſtoms of thoſe Times; and to make the Empire an Honourable Amends for his Fault, he then publiſh'd, or at leaſt enforc'd the Obſervance of an Edict, by which all Criminals were to have a Reſpite of Thirty Days allow'd 'em, between the pronouncing of the Sentence and the Execution, and thereby prevented both himſelf and his Succeſſors from falling into the like Error for the future. I have given the Reader this Signal Example of a Divine Reſignation, and leave him to make what uſeful Obſervations he thinks fit upon it.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Theodosius *the Great, to the Taking of* Rome *the first time by the* Goths.

Containing the Space of almost Sixteen Years.

I. THE World can never discern the Worth of a Prince sufficiently 'till they have lost him, of which the *Roman* Empire was too sensible after the Death of *Theodosius*. The Subject of the remaining part of this History will be the Decay and Ruin of the greatest State that ever gave Laws to the rest of the World, and the Reader must now behold the *Roman* Common-wealth struggling in Death, oppress'd by her own Slaves, and overpower'd by those she at first arrogantly contemn'd.

Theodosius, as we observ'd before, unhappily divided the Empire at his Death between his two Sons, who being too Young to govern of themselves were committed to the Care and Direction of such, who apply'd their Power more to the gratifying their own private Interest and Ambition, than to the Honour and Safety of the Empire. *Arcadius* immediately after his Father's Death repair'd to *Constantinople*, for fear the People should affect any dangerous Change upon the News of so general a Calamity, where he issu'd out several Edicts for the Confirmation of such Laws as had been publish'd by *Theodosius* against the Hereticks and Heathens. In the mean time *Rufinus* and *Stilicho*, out of Envy to each others Greatness, grew such implacable Enemies, that in Prosecution of their several pernicious Projects they confounded all things

The Ambition of Rufinus *and* Stilicho *prejudicial to the Empire.*

Divine

Divine and Human, and ſeem'd to rend that Empire aſunder, which *Theodoſius* deſign'd only to have divided. By this means the Barbarians, who had been receiv'd into the Empire, were inticed to make uſe of ſo favourable an Advantage, and began to think of ſetting up for themſelves, of becoming Conquerors inſtead of Subjects, of ſharing the Provinces amongſt them, and erecting Principalities of their own. *Arcadius* and *Honorius* were indeed honour'd with the Imperial Titles, but the Sovereign Power reſted ſolely in *Stilicho* and *Rufinus*, the one Commanding at his Pleaſure in the Eaſt, and the other in the Weſt. They undertook to determine all Suits and Controverſies, which they did with a moſt Arbitrary Partiality, drawing the Wealth of whole Provinces into their own Coffers, and impoveriſhing Nations to enrich themſelves. The Princes all this while were ignorant of their Practices, approving whatſoever they did or propos'd, which carry'd with it the Strength and Validity of a Law. *Rufinus* in a ſhort time render'd himſelf odious to the People through his Pride and Arrogance. From an obſcure Beginning he had been rais'd to the greateſt Employments in the State, ſo that he began to think himſelf remov'd but one Step from the Imperial Dignity, to which he had a great Deſire to attain, and the readieſt way he thought was to Marry his Daughter to *Arcadius*; for being the Emperor's Father-in-law he concluded he could do no leſs than aſſume him for his Collegue. The Overtures were made by ſome of his Inſtruments with great Secrecy to *Arcadius*, which however by degrees became the Diſcourſe of the People, and increas'd their Averſion to him; but none oppos'd his Deſigns ſo effectually as *Eutropius*, one of the Emperor's Eunuchs, and a Perſon in great Eſteem with him. *Promotus* left two

Eutropius *oppoſes* Rufinus.

two Sons behind him, who in *Theodosius* his Lifetime were brought up with his own Children, one of which had at present a Virgin in his Family of extraordinary Beauty; some say she was *Gratian*'s Daughter, others that she was the Daughter of *Bauto*, who had been Consul with *Arcadius*; this Lady *Eutropius* upon all occasions commended to the Emperor, extolling her in a high degree as the most perfect Workmanship of Nature, and so far prevail'd that he consented to Marry her. *Rufinus* was just return'd to *Constantinople* from *Antioch*, where he had given the World a new Instance of his Cruelty and Ingratitude. *Florentius*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Julian*'s Reign, had a Son call'd *Lucian*; this Gentleman made his Court to *Rufinus*, presenting him with Possessions of a very considerable value, upon which account *Rufinus* recommended him to the Emperor, who made him *Comes* of the East, in which Office he behav'd himself with the greatest Justice and Moderation, and was so far from being a Respecter of Persons, that he rejected a Proposal made to him by the Emperor's own Uncle *Eucherius*, in which he requir'd something that was not fit for him to grant; whereupon *Eucherius* complain'd of him to the Emperor, who reproach'd *Rufinus* for imposing so unworthy a Man upon him. *Rufinus*, instead of Protecting one who had purchas'd his Friendship at so great a Price, communicating his Thoughts to a very few made haste to *Antioch*, where he enter'd in the Night time, apprehended *Lucian*, and without any Accuser commanded him to make his Defence; he order'd him to be beaten on the Neck with Leaden Balls 'till he expir'd under the Torment, and then put him into a close Litter, endeavouring to persuade the People that he was still alive, and might expect some Favour at his Hands;

Rufinus his Cruelty.

but

but they being too ſenſible of the Truth highly reſented ſo barbarous a Proceeding: *Ruſinus*, to appeaſe 'em, built 'em a moſt Magnificent *Portico*, and ſo gave the City at once an Inſtance of his Cruelty and Prodigality; and from thence he return'd to *Conſtantinople*, pleaſing himſelf with the Thoughts of his future Affinity with the Emperor, and the Eſtabliſhment of his own unlimited Power; but he had not been long there before he found the Emperor by *Eutropius* his means marry'd to *Eudoxia*, and himſelf diſappointed of his airy Imaginations. This he was reſolv'd to revenge upon *Eutropius*, and from henceforward he labour'd to poſſeſs himſelf of that Power by Treaſon, which he could not purchaſe by his Intrigues, to which he was the more incited by *Stilicho*'s ſucceſsful Attempts in the Weſt; for he had not only marry'd his Daughter to *Honorius*, but had the Command of the Flower of the *Roman* Army diſpoſs'd in Garriſon up and down the beſt Cities, which by that means were all at his Devotion; for being Captain-General of the Army at *Theodoſius* his Death, he reſerv'd the beſt of the Troops to himſelf, and diſmiſs'd thoſe of leſs Eſtimation into the Eaſt. *Ruſinus* was inform'd that *Stilicho* had the Preference in *Theodoſius* his Will, that he was left Governor to both his Sons alike, and was coming into the Eaſt to make uſe of his Authority accordingly. This Journey *Ruſinus* endeavour'd by all means poſſible to prevent, endeavouring at the ſame time to weaken, as much as he could, the Forces of *Arcadius*; in theſe Deſigns he was aſſiſted by Inſtruments more wicked than he could have expected or deſir'd. *Ruſinus* thought it would be much to his Advantage if he could let the Barbarians into *Greece*, and therefore made *Antiochus* Governor of it, a Man baſely degenerating from the Virtue and Integrity both of

Arcadius *married to* Eudoxia.

Rufinus *his treacherous Practices.*

his

his Father and his Brethren; at the ſame time he deliver'd the *Straits* of *Thermopylæ* into the Cuſtody of *Gerontius*, who he was ſure would ſecond him in any Villanous Attempts upon the Commonwealth. *Alarich* had all this while the Command of the Barbarians, employ'd by *Theodoſius* againſt the Uſurper *Eugenius*. *Ruſinus* obſerv'd him to be of an Unquiet, Seditious Temper, Haughty and Impetuous, and at preſent diſſatisfy'd, for that he had been rewarded with no better Preferment. He therefore ſends privately to him, and adviſes him to be his own Carver; he encourages him to draw together thoſe of his own Country, and all ſuch of any other Nation as would follow his Fortunes, and march boldly at the Head of 'em, aſſuring him he ſhould meet with no Oppoſition.

His Dealings with Alarich *the* Goth.

In Confidence of this Promiſe *Alarich* quits *Thrace*, and marches into *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, deſtroying all the Country as he march'd, and coming near to *Thermopylæ*, by Meſſengers he inform'd *Gerontius* and *Antiochus* of his Approach. *Gerontius*, according to his Inſtructions, immediately withdrew his Guards from the *Straits*, and ſo open'd a free Paſſage for the Barbarians into *Greece*, where they rag'd with unexampl'd Fury, killing all the Males that were able to oppoſe 'em, and driving away the Boys and Women in great Numbers, together with the Wealth of the Country, which fell all into their Hands. All *Bœotia*, and thoſe other Parts of *Greece* that felt their Fury, wore the Marks of it for a long time after. They peirc'd into *Argos*, *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, rifling the Temples and pillaging all the wealthy Cities, which were unfortify'd through the Avarice of the *Roman* Magiſtrates, who were ready to ſerve the Luſt and Ambition of thoſe who were in Power, tho' at the Expence of their own Country. Theſe Proceedings

who marches into Greece.

of

of the Barbarians ſerv'd to feed the Ambition of *Rufinus*, who hop'd to ſucceed better in his Deſigns upon the Empire, whilſt it labour'd under ſuch Publick Calamities; but *Stilicho*, who as yet had more generous Thoughts, and was intent upon the Preſervation of the Common-wealth, having firſt repreſs'd the *Franks*, the *Suevi*, and the *Germans*, who were aiming at ſome Commotions in the Weſt, and thereby quieted all behind him, reſolv'd to march to the Succour of *Achaia*. Accordingly he ſets forward with the Weſtern Troops, and thoſe of the Eaſt that had been left in *Italy* ever ſince the Defeat of *Eugenius*, and landing ſafe in *Peloponneſus*, was in a fair way of ruining the Barbarians. The whole Army expreſs'd a great Forwardneſs for the Expedition, and earneſtly deſir'd to come to an Engagement with them, and revenge the Miſeries they had brought upon the Empire; which without doubt they had effected, had not *Rufinus*, who concluded that when once the Barbarians were repreſs'd the Storm would fall upon his own Head, prevail'd with *Arcadius* to ſend for the Oriental Troops for the Defence of *Conſtantinople*, and reſtrain the *Hunns*, who by the like Artifices had broken into the Empire. *Stilicho* was extreamly ſurpriz'd at this Order, which he thought depriv'd him of a certain Victory, and put the Empire into imminent Danger. The Chief Commanders in the Army were as much concern'd as their General, however they thought fit to march in Obedience to the Emperor's Orders, which they were ſenſible *Rufinus* had by his Artifices procur'd, on whom therefore they were reſolv'd to be reveng'd, as on an Enemy to the State; and ſo they ſet forward under the Conduct of *Gaines*, a great Friend of *Stilicho*'s, who had promis'd him to remove his Antagoniſt, and promote his Intereſt in the Eaſt. About this time

Stilicho *marches towards the Eaſt.*

Theodoſius

Theodosius his Corps was brought from *Milan* to *Constantinople*, where he was bury'd with more Solemnity of Grief than Pomp of State, the Ceremony serving to re-mind the People of what they had lost, and the defenceless Condition of the Empire. *Rufinus* had a great many brave Troops at his Devotion, commanded by Persons of the first Quality, who had conspir'd to proclaim him Emperor immediately upon the Arrival of that out of the West: The Purple was prepar'd, and the Donative ready for the Soldiers, who suffer themselves too often to be corrupted by Presents. *Gaines* being come at the Head of his Army within a few Hours March to *Constantinople* gave *Arcadius* notice of his Approach, and that pursuant to his Orders he was come to his Relief; of this the Emperor was highly satisfy'd, and was pleas'd to go out of the City and meet the Soldiers in Person, being inform'd 'twas an Honour his Predecessors usually paid to the Army. The Soldiers receiv'd him with the Respect due to his Dignity, but upon a Signal given by *Gaines* they surrounded *Rufinus*, whose Thoughts were puffed up with an imaginary Empire, and cut him in pieces; his Head was fixed upon the Top of a Lance, and expos'd to the View of the People, who abominated him for his excessive Cruelty and Extortion, and therefore beheld it with much Satisfaction: They were well pleas'd at the Invention of a certain Soldier, who took his right Hand, and by a witty Contrivance opening and closing his Fingers at pleasure, went up and down the City begging an Alms for that insatiable Creature. Thus fell *Rufinus*, who well deserv'd the Usage he receiv'd, having by his Ambition involv'd the Publick in great Difficulties, and procur'd the Ruin of many private Families. The *Hunns* and the *Goths*, who had been let into the Empire by his Means, could never afterwards

Rufinus *slain.*

terwards be expell'd, but took ſo deep a Root, and grew up by Degrees to ſuch a Strength and Reſolution, that at firſt they ſhook off the Yoke of the *Romans*, and at laſt brought 'em into Subjection, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Upon *Rufinus* his Death *Eutropius*, who had concurr'd with *Stilicho* in all his Devices againſt him, was made chief Miniſter in his Room; ſecuring the greateſt Part of his Eſtate to his own uſe, but giving others liberty to re-aſſume what had been unjuſtly taken from 'em. His Wife and Children, fearing they ſhould fall a Sacrifice to the Fury of the People, took Sanctuary in a Church, from whence by the Emperor's Permiſſion they retir'd to *Jeruſalem*, where they ſpent the reſt of their Days.

Eutropius being thus confirm'd in his Maſter's Favour, ſucceeded *Rufinus* not only in his Power and his Employments, but what is worſe in his Cruelty, his Avarice, and his other villainous Qualities, ſo that *Rufinus* ſeem'd ſtill to ſurvive in this wicked Eunuch. He was a declar'd Enemy to Virtue and virtuous Men; nor had he any farther Regard to Religion than as he could make it ſubſervient to his Intereſt. He abus'd with much Inſolence his Maſter's Power, who being young, and addicted to his Pleaſures, reſign'd the Government of his Affairs into his Hands. And the better to confirm himſelf in his Authority, he endeavour'd to remove all thoſe out of the way, who ſeemed to bear any Sway in the Court. For this end he began his Practices upon *Timaſius*, a Man who had been a long time a principal Commander in the Army, and had in many Wars ſerved the Government with much Honour, Courage and Integrity. Being ſome time before this at *Sardis* he accidentally met with one *Bargus*, a Native of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, a mean inconſiderable Fellow, and who for ſome notorious

Eutropius *as bad as* Rufinus.

Crime

Crime had been forced to fly his Country; *Timasius* perceiving him of a facetious insinuating Conversation, without ever enquiring farther into his Character, admitted him to his Familiarity, preferr'd him to the Command of a Cohort, and took him with him to *Constantinople*; at which some of the Magistrates were highly displeas'd, because he had been formerly banish'd that City for some Offences committed by him. This Man *Eutropius* thinks a fit Instrument for his Villainy, and with many Gifts and more Promises persuades him to accuse *Timasius* of High-Treason. Hereupon the Villain counterfeits a Writing, in the Contents of which *Timasius* is charged with affecting the Imperial Dignity, and is therefore brought without delay to his Trial, where the Emperor himself presided first as Judge; but finding the People disliked the Proceeding, and were offended to see a Person of *Timasius* his Dignity forced to answer the mercenary Accusations of so insignificant and scandalous a Fellow, he quitted the Employment, and substitutes *Saturninus* and *Procopius* in his room. *Saturninus* was an ancient Man, and had gone through many great Offices, but was given to Flattery, and in the Court of Judicature to pass such Sentences, as were likely to please those who were in greatest Favour with the Prince. *Procopius* had been *Valens* his Father-in-Law, and was rigid and inflexible, pretending to have a great Regard to Right and Equity; as indeed he appear'd in this Case, for he endeavour'd to convince *Saturninus* how unreasonable a thing it was, that a Fellow so notorious as *Bargus* should be suffer'd to accuse so great a Person as *Timasius*, and after he had been obliged in so extraordinary a manner, endeavour to betray and destroy his Benefactor. However *Saturninus* his Sentence prevail'd in the End, notwithstanding this reasonable Remonstrance; and *Timasius*

was

was confin'd to *Oasis*, a barren uncomfortable Place, out of which there could be no Escape for those who were once brought thither; for it was surrounded with a large desolate Desart, full of Sand, which moving to and fro with the Wind suffer'd no Tract or Footsteep of any former Travellers to be seen: *Timasius* being thus removed, a Report was spread abroad that his Son *Syagrius*, assisted by a Company of Robbers, had intercepted him and forc'd him from the Guards, who were sent by the Emperor to conduct him to his Place of Exile. Whether this Report was true, or rais'd by some of *Eutropius* his Creatures, is uncertain, tho' neither the Father nor Son were heard of ever after.

Bargus receiv'd the Command of a Cohort, as a Reward for his extraordinary Service to *Eutropius*, and was deceiv'd with the Hopes and Promises of greater things, not thinking that his Treachery to his great Benefactor *Timasius*, would teach *Eutropius* to be upon his Guard, and deal with him accordingly; this his senseless Security drew upon him the Judgment he deserv'd, for *Eutropius* taking an opportunity of his Absence, perswaded his Wife, who was then at variance with her Husband, to present the Emperor with some Papers of dangerous Consequence, and among the rest many heavy Accusations against *Bargus*; whereupon *Eutropius* brought him instantly to his Trial, where he was convicted, sentenced, and executed accordingly. So certain is the hand of Justice to punish, first or last, those who are guided by no Rule, nor observe any Law that interferes with their private Interest, how unreasonably soever grounded or pursued. A. D. 396.

Bargus *put to death by* Eutropius *his Procurement.*

And now *Eutropius*, grown drunk with Power, and arrogant through his Success, employs his Spies in all Quarters and in every Corner, by whose Informations he made his own Advantage, oppressing

thoſe who were conſiderable for their Authority, or conſpicuous for their Eſtates, and excluding ſuch from the Preſence of the Emperor, who had the Courage to tell him how much he was abus'd. Among theſe was *Abundantius*, a Man conſiderable in the Common-wealth in *Gratian*'s time, and who had been Prætor and Conſul under *Theodoſius*. His Vir-

Who gets Abundantius *to be baniſh'd,*

tue, Experience, and Authority, were Qualifications no way agreeable to *Eutropius*, ſo that he prevail'd through his crafty Inſinuations with the Emperor to have him ſtripp'd of his Honours and Eſtate, and confin'd to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, where he dy'd. After this he found none in *Conſtantinople* able to diſpute or rival his Power, and ſo was more at leiſure to turn his Eyes towards the Weſt, where he obſerv'd *Stilicho* governing with an unlimited Authority, belov'd by the Emperor, careſs'd by the Soldiers, and inclinable to come to *Conſtantinople*, which it conſiſted with his Intereſt to prevent, and therefore he perſuaded *Arcadius* to ſummon the Senate, in which *Stilicho* is declared a publick Enemy to the Empire. After which he ſo far practis'd upon *Gildo*, who was Governor in *Africk*, that he renounc'd his Obedience to *Honorius*, owning *Arcadius* for his Soveraign, or rather ſetting up for himſelf; reſtraining that Supply of Corn with which *Rome* us'd to be furniſh'd, and thereby creating a great Scarcity in that populous City. This *Gildo*, as we obſerv'd before, was one of the Sons of *Nubel*, who whilſt he lived was a potent Prince in *Mauritania*. In the time of his Brother *Firmus* his Rebellion *Gildo* ſtuck faſt to the *Romans*, for whom he appear'd ſo zealous that *Theodoſius*, as a Recompence for his Services, conferr'd many Honours upon him, and made him his Lieutenant in *Africk*. For ſome time he behav'd himſelf with much Reſpect and Obedience to the Empire, but finding it embroil'd upon *Eugenius*

and practiſes againſt Stilicho.

Gildo *revolts in* Africk.

his

his Uſurpation, he declin'd joining the Forces under his Command with *Theodoſius*, and began then to entertain thoughts of a Revolt; but after his Death, preſuming upon the Incapacity of his Sons, he ſtruck in with *Eutropius*, and made himſelf abſolute Maſter of *Africk*. *Gildo* had then a Brother, call'd *Mazeſcel* or *Mazezil*, who oppos'd him with ſo much Activity, that he was violently enrag'd againſt him, and had a Deſign upon his Life; upon which *Mazezil* fled into *Italy*, where he gave the Emperor and *Stilicho* a juſt Account of the Province, inform'd 'em of the readieſt way to ſuppreſs the Uſurper, and offer'd to undertake the Service himſelf, provided they would place him at the Head of a ſufficient Army. The Emperor had great reaſon to diſtruſt this Barbarian's Sincerity, but the City was reduced to ſuch a Scarcity of Proviſions through the Rebellion in *Africk*, that he was glad to embrace any Offer that was propos'd to extinguiſh it. Whereupon the War was declar'd againſt *Gildo* in the Senate, and committed to the Management of *Mazezil*. Of this when *Gildo* was inform'd, he in great Rage murder'd two of his Brother's Sons, whom he had left behind in *Africk*; which ſerv'd only to inflame his Brother with more Animoſity againſt him, and to proſecute the War with greater Application, ſince to his Rebellion he had added the unnatural Sin of Paricide. A. D. 397.

Againſt whom his Brother is ſent.

In the mean time the People of *Rome*, tho' they were afflicted with a Famine at home, and threaten'd with great and almoſt unavoidable Dangers from abroad, in a ſenſeleſs Security gave themſelves up to all manner of Luxury and Prodigality. The *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations, were by degrees grown ſo familiar to 'em, many of whom they had entertain'd within their own Walls, that they became fond of their Faſhions, and began to imitate 'em in

their Dreſſes, thinking their own dull and unpoliſhed: This was look'd upon as a fatal Prelude to what follow'd not long after; for 'tis almoſt a certain ſign that that Nation will in time be ſubjected to thoſe, of whoſe Fancies they are fond; and that they to whoſe Imaginations they ſubmit their Reaſon, will in time become Maſters both of their Perſons and Eſtates. This Extravagance was attended by another altogether as unreaſonable; they were infatuated with a Madneſs of Building; and that at a time when the City was already grown too great for the Inhabitants, and the Inhabitants too many for the Proviſions that were brought to it. Both theſe Extravagancies *Honorius* endeavour'd to reſtrain by two ſeveral Edicts, but to little purpoſe, for they ſtill perſiſted in their Imitation of the Barbarians, and the humour of Building continu'd ſo long, 'till the City her ſelf ſlid down from her Seven Hills, and repos'd her ſelf, as for Eaſe, in the *Campus Martius*.

This Year was remarkable for a Council held at *Carthage*, wherein were framed ſeveral remarkable Cannons, by which we may judge of the pious and ſelf-denying Temper of the Prelates that celebrated it. In the ſame Year dy'd St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*, who is accus'd of ſome Doctrinal Errors; whereby we are to know that the beſt of Men are not infallible; for he maintain'd, as well as St. *Hilary*, that *all Men indifferently are to undergo a fiery Trial at the laſt Day*; that *even the Juſt are to paſs through it, and be thereby cleanſed from their Sins*; *but the Unjuſt are to continue in it for ever*. He likewiſe taught, that *the Faithful ſhould be rais'd gradually at the laſt Day, according to the Degree of their particular Merits*: That *the Bow God promis'd* Noah *he would place in the Firmament after the Deluge, as a Token that he never intended to drown the World again,*

The Death of St. Ambroſe.

was

was not to be underſtood of the Rain-bow, which can never appear in the Night, but ſome viſible Virtue of the Almighty; and ſeveral other Tenets, wherein he differ'd from the reſt of the Orthodox Fathers, and which afterwards gave occaſion to many Speculations.

The Year following *Honorius* was Conſul the fourth time with *Eutychianus*: And *Stilicho* and *Eutropius*, who had hitherto appear'd publickly to be in good Terms with each other, now broke out into open Enmity, agreeing ſtill however in pillaging and oppreſſing the Publick. All Employments were at their Diſpoſal, the Power of Pardon and Puniſhment reſted ſolely in them, ſo that all Men became their Courtiers and Dependants. At this no Man was more offended than *Gaines*, who thought his Services little regarded, his Perſon neglected, and none prefer'd but thoſe who were able to pay the higheſt price for it. Theſe Conſiderations made him turn Male-content, ſo that he began to think of raiſing new Commotions, and communicated his Thoughts to one *Tribigild*, a bold Couragious Soldier, fit for any deſperate Undertaking. *Tribigild* had the Command of ſome Troops of Horſe of the Barbarians that lay Quarter'd in *Phrygia*, and having concerted his Matters with *Gaines*, he left *Conſtantinople* under a Pretence of Muſtering his Troops, and viewing the Condition they were in; but as ſoon as he had plac'd himſelf at the Head of 'em he laid all the Country waſte before him, killing Men, Women and Children, and upon a Promiſe of free Booty got ſuch a Company of pilfering Raſcals together, that all *Aſia* ſeem'd to be threaten'd with Deſtruction. *Lydia* was in an Uproar, from whence the Inhabitants drew down towards the Sea, and paſs'd over into other Parts to avoid the Tempeſt they ſaw ready to break upon 'em. *Ar-*

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Gaines turns Male-content.

Tribigild Rebels.

cadius being inform'd of all this had no Senſe of the Publick Calamities, nor Diſcretion enough to remove 'em, but like a helpleſs unactive Prince reſign'd all to the Management of *Eutropius*, who made Choice of *Gaines* and *Leo* for the Generals of the War, by whoſe Conduct and Fidelity he made no doubt but *Tribigild* would quickly be reduc'd. *Leo* had Orders to march into *Aſia*, and diſperſe the Barbarians that were met in a confus'd manner together; and *Gaines* was to have an Eye upon *Thrace* and the *Straits* of the *Helleſpont*, to prevent any Irruptions on that ſide. Thus was the Emperor ſhamefully abus'd, and the Empire cruelly afflicted by open and avow'd Enemies that were ſworn to her Deſtruction, and by treacherous, unskilful Generals, who undertook the Care of her Defence; for *Leo* had no other Qualification that could warrant his Pretence to ſo high an Employment, but his Intimacy with *Eutropius*; and *Gaines*, by Birth and Inclination was an avow'd Enemy to the *Roman* State. However they both march'd from *Conſtantinople* according to their Inſtructions, and *Gaines*, purſuant to the Agreement between 'em, ſent and advis'd *Tribigild* to draw with his Forces down towards the *Helleſpont*. Had this Deſign been as warily executed, as it was cunningly ſuggeſted, all *Aſia* and the Eaſt muſt unavoidably have been loſt, but Fortune had not yet totally abandon'd the *Roman* Common-wealth. He left *Conſtantinople* with a Heat and Impetuoſity natural to Barbarians, and ſent not his Advice to *Tribigild* 'till he was arriv'd at *Heraclea*, and then *Tribigild* was afraid to obſerve his Orders, leſt he ſhould fall in with the Forces that were by that time ſent to Guard the Coaſt; ſo that having waſted all *Phrygia*, he fell with the ſame Barbarity upon *Piſidia*. The Inhabitants ſent to *Gaines* for Relief, which he, with much

much Artifice, prolong'd ſending, whilſt *Leo* hover'd about the *Helleſpont* without daring to encounter the Enemy, who ravag'd the Country at Diſcretion, roving up and down without meeting the leaſt Oppoſition, being daily reinforc'd by ſome or other of his Countrymen, who inſtead of defending their friendly Neighbours, the *Romans*, join'd with their Enemies, and drew their Swords againſt 'em.

Gaines pretended all this while to be highly exaſperated againſt him, but at the ſame time magnify'd his Stratagems and Sagacious Conduct, affirming he effected more by that than the Force of his Arms. He paſs'd over into *Aſia* with a Pretence to oppoſe and chaſtiſe him, but was ſo far from doing any thing that tended that way, that he ſate down as a Spectator whilſt *Tribigild* laid all the Country waſte, and burnt the Cities about him. *Gaines* expected he would have march'd out of *Phrygia*, and have mov'd towards the Eaſt, to which he privately advis'd him, and aſſiſted him underhand with ſome Forces for the Expedition. Indeed had *Tribigild* directed his Courſe into *Lydia* he had eaſily maſter'd *Ionia*, and from thence he might have paſs'd over into the Iſlands with as conſiderable a Fleet as he pleas'd, and ſo have over-run all the Eaſt, and have march'd up as far as *Egypt* without any Oppoſition. But directing his Courſe towards *Pamphylia*, he fell into a craggy mountainous Country, where there was no poſſibility for his Horſe to march. There indeed he found no Army to oppoſe him, but met with one *Valentine*, a Citizen of *Selga*, a ſmall Town in *Pamphylia*, ſituate upon a Hill, who had rais'd a Body of Slaves and Countrymen, that by their frequent Diſputes with the Robbers of thoſe Parts had learn'd how to make ſudden Onſets, and frame advantagious Ambuſhes. Theſe Men *Valentine* plac'd upon ſuch Hills as

were near the Paſſage, and ſo diſpos'd 'em with the beſt Skill he had, that they with eaſe, and unobſerv'd, could behold all that came that way. As ſoon as they ſaw *Tribigild* was enter'd the *Straits*, with huge Stones tumbled down from the Mountains they kill'd great Numbers of his Men; and now he began to find his Error too late, and that he had no room left him to eſcape; for on one Hand was a deep Lake and rotten Bogs, on the other a narrow Aſcent in which two Men could ſcarce move a-breaſt, call'd *Cochlea* by the Inhabitants, from the Orbicular Shape of it; this Paſs was guarded by one *Florentius*, who had Men enough to make it good againſt the Barbarians; however *Tribigild*, by the force of his Preſents, got leave to paſs with three hundred of his Men, the reſt of his Army being loſt either in the *Straits*, or the adjoining Lake. From hence he deſcended into the Plain, where he was reduc'd to greater Extremities than ever; for all the Inhabitants of the Country got together, and with ſuch Weapons as they found ſhut him and his Followers up between the two Rivers, *Melane* and *Eurymedon*; from hence, in great perplexity, he ſent to acquaint *Gaines* with the Condition of his Affairs, who was as much troubl'd at it as himſelf; but having not yet openly declar'd himſelf, he ſent *Leo*, who lay near him, with Orders to aſſiſt the *Pamphylians* in Conjunction with *Valentine*, and hinder *Tribigild* from paſſing the Rivers. *Leo*, who was more a Fool than a Knave, punctually follow'd his Inſtructions, and by that means made *Tribigild*'s Eſcape utterly impoſſible; whereupon *Gaines* ſent time after time ſuch Cohorts of Barbarians as he had in his Camp to *Leo*'s Aſſiſtance, as he pretended, and to reinforce his Army; but his Orders to them were, to kill ſuch of the *Romans* as they found ſtraggling from the Camp, to lay waſte the

His Army cut off.

Gaines his Treachery.

the Country, and by degrees deſtroy *Leo* and his Army, which the Barbarians executed accordingly. By this means the Country was entirely ruin'd, and *Tribigild* had leiſure to withdraw out of *Pamphylia*, and return into *Phrygia*, where he made good *Gaines* his Deſign and Expectation, for he raged with greater Fury than ever.

The Emperor, being thus abus'd on every ſide, was in great Perplexity. *Gaines*, inſtead of reducing *Tribigild*, magnify'd his Exploits to the Emperor, threaten'd him and the Senate with his intended March towards the *Helleſpont*, which would endanger the preſent Poſture of Affairs, unleſs the Prince thought fit to incline to his Propoſals; thoſe Propoſals had before-hand been concerted between him and *Tribigild*, and were ſuch as, when granted, would enable him the better to proſecute his own Ambitious Deſigns. He was an inveterate Enemy to *Eutropius*, who being deſign'd Conſul this Year in the Eaſt, and honour'd with the Title of Patrician, he was more exaſperated at his Preferment, than offended for that he was not advanc'd himſelf, and therefore was reſolv'd to be ſatisfy'd with nothing leſs than Death. Accordingly whilſt he lay in *Phrygia* he acquainted the Emperor, that he had neither Strength nor Authority enough to oppoſe *Tribigild* any longer, whoſe Conduct and Experience was ſuch that all *Aſia* would of neceſſity be loſt, unleſs he had his Demands granted him; the cheif of which was, that *Eutropius*, the grand Author of all the late Calamities, might be deliver'd up into his Hands. Hereupon *Arcadius* immediately ſtripp'd *Eutropius* of his Power and Dignity, who in great Conſternation fled for Refuge to a Chriſtian Church. This was not enough to ſatisfie *Gaines*, who ſtill inſiſted, that *Tribigild* would be contented with nothing leſs than *Eutropius* his utter Ruin; ſo that he

A. D. 399.

was

was first baniſh'd to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and ſome time after brought to *Pantychium*, where, after a formal Trial, he was put to Death.

Eutropius *put to Death.*

Tho' *Eutropius* in a great meaſure ow'd his Fall to *Gaines* his inveterate Malice, yet his inſolent Carriage to the Empreſs had made *Arcadius* himſelf from an indulgent Maſter become an offended Prince. Looking on himſelf as the great Inſtrument of her Promotion, he thought he might make more bold with her than conſiſted with his Duty and her Imperial Dignity. Among other Extravagancies he preſumptuouſly threaten'd her one Day, upon ſome ſmall Diſlike, to turn her out of the Palace, and ſend her home; the Empreſs highly offended at ſuch unuſual Arrogance went with Tears in her Eyes, and her two little Daughters, *Pulcheria* and *Arcadia*, in her Arms, and complain'd of the Eunuch to the Emperor; who either immediately depriv'd him of his Wealth and Dignities, and baniſh'd him into *Cyprus*, or more eaſily liſten'd to *Gaines*, and conſented to his Ruin. Whatever the main Reaſons of his Fall were, he met with a Fate common to thoſe inſolent Favourites, who being advanc'd by the Indulgence of the Prince, ſhamefully abuſe his Power, and miſapply his Favours.

We took notice before of *Gildo*'s Revolt in *Africk*, and how his Brother was ſent by the Emperor and Senate of *Rome* againſt him, who put an end to the War much ſooner than was expected; for *Oroſius* tells us, that depending more upon the Divine Aſſiſtance, than the Strength of his own Arms, he invok'd the Name of Chriſt, who ſupported him in the Day of Battel, and gave him a miraculous Victory; for he had not above Five thouſand Men, tho' *Gildo* was above Seventy thouſand ſtrong. *Zoſimus* ſaith *Mazezil* fell upon his Brother unawares, and after a ſharp Diſpute defeated him; that preſently

Gildo *overthrown.*

ſently after *Gildo* choſe rather to Strangle himſelf, than fall into his Enemy's Hands. *Mazezil* having by this Victory reduc'd *Africk* to *Honorius* his Obedience, return'd into *Italy*, where he was receiv'd very favourably by the Emperor, and outwardly careſs'd by *Stilicho*, in Conſideration of his late Services, who however inwardly envy'd him for his great Deſerts, and procured him to be drown'd not long after. The Death of *Gildo* deliver'd *Africk* from great Oppreſſions, which the War would of neceſſity have brought upon it, had he liv'd to have receiv'd the Aſſiſtance he had been promis'd by *Eutropius*, who was not yet in Diſgrace; but the Diſagreement between the two Brothers ſeem'd an Act of Providence, and prov'd very advantagious to *Honorius* his Affairs, revenging upon the Uſurper the Diſſentions he endeavour'd to create between the two Emperors. With *Africa*, all *Gildo*'s Paternal Dominions fell to *Honorius* his ſhare, and was ſo large, that as a diſtinct Province it was govern'd by its proper Officer, call'd *Comes Gildoniaci Patrimonii*.

After this the Weſtern Empire ſeem'd to enjoy ſome Repoſe, and the Year following, whither the Courſe of the Wars in the Eaſt have already conducted us, is diſtinguiſh'd with the Name of no more than one Conſul, which was *Flavius Mallius Theodorus*, a Perſon Eminent in thoſe Days for his Learning, Eloquence and good Manners, as well as his Quality and Fortune; 'tis true we obſerv'd before that *Eutropius* was deſign'd for his Collegue, but fell a Sacrifice either to the Emperor's Indignation, or the Malice of *Gaines*, before he was Veſted with the Honour. *Gaines* was ſo far from being ſatisfy'd with his Death, that he ſtill aim'd at greater and more dangerous Innovations. Having patch'd up a pretended Peace with *Tribigild* in the Emperor's Name,

Name, he return'd through *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, leaving *Tribigild* to follow close after him, who join'd him again at *Thyatira*. Here they both agreed to return and sack *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*, but were prevented by the great Rains which had lately fallen, and swoln the Rivers over which they were to pass. Hereupon they separated once more, *Gaines* marching through *Bythinia*, and *Tribigild* toward the *Hellespont*, allowing their Men to seize and plunder whatever came in their way, which they did with great Licentiousness; and being advanced, the one as far as *Chalcedon*, the other into the Territories of *Lampsacus*, they not only put *Constantinople* into a great Consternation, but the whole *Roman* Empire seem'd to be in apparent Danger; for

Gaines *his Insolence.*

Gaines was now become so insolent, that he demanded a Meeting with the Emperor in Person, refusing to treat with any one else. *Arcadius* was forc'd to condescend, and so it was agreed between 'em, at a Place near *Chalcedon*, sacred to the Memory of *Euphemia* the Martyr, that *Gaines* and *Tribigild* should pass out of *Asia* into *Europe*, and that such eminent Men in the State as they demanded should be deliver'd up into their Hands: These were *Aurelius*,

A. D. 400.

who was *Stilicho*'s Collegue in this Year's Consulate, *Saturninus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, whom we had occasion to make mention of before, and *John*, Secretary to the Emperor: *Arcadius* found himself obliged to comply with this Tyrannical Demand, and having deliver'd 'em up to *Gaines* he sent 'em all into Exile. Upon the Conclusion of this Treaty he passed over into *Europe*, follow'd by *Tribigild*, leaving *Asia* to breathe a little, and recover her self from her late Calamities.

After this he continu'd for some time at *Constantinople*, from whence he remov'd the Soldiers that had formerly lain in Garrison in the City, that he might the

the better effect the Designs he had upon it. He first demanded a Church for himself and Followers, being all obstinate *Arians* in opinion, in which they might have a free Exercise of their Religion. The poor Emperor, being afraid to give him an absolute Denial, referr'd him to St. *Chrysostome*, who being Bishop of the City had the Disposal of all Consecrated Places. St. *Chrysostome* oppos'd him with much Courage, told him 'twas not in the Emperor's Power to alienate any thing that was Sacred; that the Churches were daily open in the City, where he might go and pay his Devotions, and hear the Word of God: To this *Gaines* answer'd, that being of another Persuasion he could not join with them in their Religious Worship; and that the Services he had render'd the Empire very well deserv'd a Church to be appropriated to him and those of his Faith. St. *Chrysostome* reply'd boldly, that his Rewards already exceeded his Merits, for he had the Honour of being a General, and enjoy'd the Consular Dignity; that from a low and abject Condition he had been advanc'd to the highest Employments in the Government; that he ought to be contented with what he already enjoy'd, without demanding what was not in the Emperor's Power to grant: Whereupon he shew'd him an Edict publish'd by *Theodosius*, prohibiting all Schismaticks whatever to hold any Meetings in the City, and reminded him of the Oath he had made to that Emperor, by whom he was so signally obliged, of being true to the *Roman* Interest, obedient to the Laws, and loyal to him and his Children; advising him to have a Regard to that Oath, in the Breach of which he would so highly provoke the Divine Vengeance against him. This Discourse, so seasonably inforc'd by the Bishop, made him quit his Demand for the present, tho' he went away very much dissatisfy'd, and full of

of turbulent ambitious Designs. About this time there appear'd a Comet of unusual Magnitude, that seem'd to sweep the Earth with its Tail, and to hang directly over the City; portending some great Disaster ready to fall not only upon the City, but the Empire. His first Attempt was to seize the Wealth of the Bankers, of which being disappointed, he order'd some of his Barbarians to fire the Palace, which, say the Ecclesiastical Historians, was preserv'd by a Miracle. After this he pretended himself possess'd by a Spirit, and seiz'd on the Church of St. *John Baptist*, seven Miles from the City, there to perform his Devotions; having order'd some of his Party to follow him, and the rest to stay behind, who at a convenient Time, and upon a Signal given, were to seize the City and deliver it up to him, who would be ready at the Gates to assist them. This Design had in all probability taken effect, had he not been too hasty, and unadvisedly anticipated his Time: For without any Signal given he appear'd before the Walls at the Head of his Men, with which the Watch being alarm'd gave notice to the Inhabitants, who at first made such Outcries as are usual in Towns that are storm'd, but uniting themselves by degrees they set upon the Barbarians that were left behind, whom they dispatch'd with such Weapons as came first to hand; and so gall'd *Gaines*, whom the Emperor in the very *Crisis* had proclaim'd Traitor, that he was forc'd to retire from the Walls, after he had in vain attempted to break into the City. In the beginning of the Tumult seven thousand of the Barbarians fled for Refuge into one of the Churches, as to a Sanctuary; but the Emperor not thinking it reasonable a Christian Church should serve as an *Asylum* to those, who were declared Enemies both to Church and State, gave Order to have 'em all destroy'd either by Fire or

His Designs upon Constantinople

frustrated.

or Sword; whereupon they uncover'd the Roof which lay over the Altar, and from thence ply'd 'em ſo furiouſly with Brands of Fire that not a Man of 'em eſcaped.

This is the Subſtance of this Hiſtory, as we have it both from *Zoſimus* and other Writers, wherein they vary in ſome Particulars that are not worth our Obſervation. *Gaines*, after this Defeat, declared open War againſt the State, and falling into *Thrace* found the Towns not only fenced with Walls, but well defended by the Courage and Reſolution of the Inhabitants, who having learn'd Experience by former Incurſions, had now ſecured their Fruits, Cattle, and all other Proviſions within the Walls, and putting themſelves into a Poſture of Defence knew how to ſally out and diſtreſs the Beſiegers; ſo that *Gaines* finding nothing there but Graſs, reſolv'd to leave *Thrace* and march into the *Cherſoneſus*, and return through the *Straits* of the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. In the mean time the Emperor and Senate made choice of one *Fraiutus* to manage the War againſt him; he was by Birth a Barbarian, but in other Reſpects a *Greek*, not only in his Diſpoſition and Manners, but his Affections and Religion, being, as *Zoſimus* tells us, a Pagan. He had behav'd himſelf with much Honour in ſeveral former Services, having cleared the Eaſt, from *Cilicia* as far as *Paleſtine*, from Robbers that had cruelly infeſted it.

Fraiutus readily undertook the Charge, reſtor'd the ancient Diſcipline of the Camp, inur'd his Soldiers to Labour and Induſtry, being himſelf vigilant and indefatigable; and as he took great Care to form and exerciſe his own Troops, ſo was he as diligent to obſerve and diſcover the Condition of the Enemy, preparing to engage with him as well by Sea as by Land; for he had a good number of Pinnaces,

naces, with which he intended to diſpute *Gaines* his Paſſage over, if he ſhould attempt. He being now in Diſtreſs for want of Forrage reſolv'd to ſtay there no longer, framing therefore a ſufficient number of Planks, he ſo artificially compacted 'em together, that they were capable of tranſporting both Men and Horſe, which he order'd to embark, and at a convenient Seaſon put out to Sea. The *Roman* General, who had his Eye upon him all this while, put off with his Pinnaces a little from the Shore, and ſuffering the Veſſels of the Barbarians to make down with the Tide, he with his own Pinnace faced the foremoſt, and falling foul of her with his Brazen Beak after a ſhort Grapple ſunk her; the reſt of thoſe Veſſels follow'd the ſame Fate, ſo that very few of the Barbarians eſcaped alive. This Loſs exceedingly perplex'd *Gaines*, who doubtful what meaſures to take left the *Cherſoneſus* and paſſed farther into *Thrace*, where ſome ſay he fell into the Hands of the *Roman* Forces quarter'd in thoſe Parts, as he waited in expectation of freſh Supplies, who put him and the Remainder of his Army to the Sword. Others ſay, that after he had robb'd *Thrace* of what former Depredations had left behind, and maſſacred ſuch *Romans* as ſtill continu'd to follow him, he intended to paſs the *Iſter*, and end his Days in his own Country, but was prevented by *Uldes*, or *Hudin*, at that time Prince of the *Hunns*, who thought it imprudent to permit him to paſs with an Army of his own Nation, and ſettle on the other ſide the River; and conceiv'd he ſhould do an acceptable piece of Service to the *Roman* Emperor if he forc'd him from thence; whereupon drawing all his Forces together he prepar'd to give him Battel, which *Gaines*, who knew it impoſſible for him now to return to the *Romans*, was forced to accept of, and after a ſharp Diſpute on both ſides, in which he fought with a deſperate Reſolu-

Gaines *kill'd.*

tion,

tion, he was slain, and his Head sent by *Uldes* to *Arcadius*, who thereupon rewarded him with many Royal Presents, and admitted him into a League and Society with the *Romans*.

II. The East seem'd to be deliver'd, by *Gaines* his Death, from the Calamities under which it had labour'd for a long time: But a new Storm was now gathering in the West, which so violently assaulted it, that at length it tore up the Empire by the Roots, and robb'd *Rome*, which for so many Ages had been the Queen of Cities, of her Hereditary and Imperial Honours. We were told before, how that *Alarich*, at *Rufinus* his Instigation, had invaded *Greece*; from whence, after he had committed unheard of Cruelties up and down wherever he pass'd, he descended into *Epirus* and *Pannonia*, both which Countries, together with the adjacent Parts, he haras's'd and depopulated. His Success made him bold and his Army couragious, so that he began to bend his Thoughts towards *Italy* it self, and had already devour'd in his Mind all the Wealth of that beautiful Garden of the West; in whose fertile Plains, and capacious Towns, he thought at last to settle. These his Thoughts he communicated to his Men, who with a barbarous Applause approv'd of his Proposal; he told 'em *Italy* was at present weak and defenceless, unable to oppose any sudden violent Attempt; he concluded it no difficult matter to take *Rome* her self, and thereby seize upon the innumerable Wealth which the Care, Industry, Avarice or Ambition of so many Ages had with a profuse Husbandry drain'd from the whole World, and hoarded up in her. The Army were so well pleas'd with his Design, that from their General they made him their King, and prepared all things for their intended March; which he thought not fit to begin 'till the

A. D. 402.

Alarich *prepares to invade* Italy.

Summer was paſs'd, but choſe rather to enter *Italy* in the Winter, the Rigour of which he and his *Goths* had from their Infancy been inured to, and muſt therein have an Advantage of the *Italians*, who had not been us'd to the Hardſhips of War in that Seaſon. Having got a ſufficient Army together, conſiſting of *Alans*, *Goths*, *Hunns*, and other barbarous Nations, he quitted the lower *Pannonia* and march'd into the upper, conſiſting at preſent of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*; from thence he paſs'd on to *Noricum*, or *Bavaria*, the Paſſes of which he with great Eaſe maſter'd; from hence he drove out *Ætius*, who had the Command of the Imperial Army, and took and pillaged all the Towns that came in his way. Hearing *Honorius* was in *Liguria* he paſs'd through the Foreſt of *Trent* with an intent to attack him, ſeizing on all the little Towns that lay on the Coaſt of the *Adriatick*, and directing his Courſe towards the *Adda*, he enter'd all the Cities of that Quarter without any Oppoſition. Having made a Bridge for his Men to paſs over the River he left a ſufficient Number to ſecure it, and ſo directed his Courſe to *Liguria*, making what haſte he could to *Haſta*, or *Aſt*, where he was inform'd the Emperor then lay.

Upon the News of it the Romans *are in great Conſternation.*

It is not to be expreſs'd with how much Conſternation the *Romans* receiv'd the Intelligence of the intended Invaſion. All the Omens, or pretended Omens, that had been obſerv'd for a conſiderable Time paſs'd, were, by the ſuperſtitious Fears of the People apply'd to the preſent Extremities: Not only the Voice of Thunder, but Chattering of Birds frighted 'em: Hail-ſtones of an unuſual Bigneſs, and Bees attempting to ſwarm at an unſeaſonable time, like ſo many Oracles denounc'd the Calamities they already had in view. The frequent Eclipſes of the Moon, and the appearance of a Comet of an extraordinary

dinary size impos'd upon their Ignorance, and awaken'd their guilty Consciences with the sense of Divine Vengeance. But nothing affected 'em so much as the Sight of two Wolves which as the Emperor was riding abroad presented themselves to his View, and had the Courage to set upon the Company. Being receiv'd upon the Points of their Spears and Swords they were easily dispatch'd; but when their Bellies were open'd, in one was found the Right Hand of a Man, to the great Amazement of the Beholders, and in the other the Left. This Prodigy they concluded apparently threaten'd *Rome* herself, the Founder whereof, according to their Tradition, had been nourish'd by a She Wolf; so that they now began to cast up the Age of the City, and to reckon her End approaching. Their Fears made 'em superstitious, and the Event prov'd they were Prophets.

A Revolt in Rhætia.

And as if these unusual and sinister Practices were not sufficient for the publick Distractions, the People inhabiting *Rhætia*, the present Country of the *Grisons*, either at the Instigation of *Alarich*, or out of a Prospect of mending their Condition, revolted from the *Romans*, and so facilitated the Design of the *Goths*. To obviate all these apparent Mischiefs *Stilicho* took care to have all the Towns well fortify'd and provided, especially *Rome* it self; notwithstanding which *Alarich* was no sooner enter'd *Italy*, but the Inhabitants look'd upon it as already taken, and were for removing with their Wealth, some into the Islands on the *Adriatick*, others into *Sicily*, and the very Officers in the Emperor's Court were for flying into *Gaul* upon the Approach of the Barbarians. Indeed this general Horror, which had seiz'd on the Minds of the People, was no more than a seasonable Introduction to the Calamities that follow'd. *Italy*, that for many Ages had liv'd in a continu'd Serenity, in the full Enjoyments of Peace,

Plenty; and Prosperity, from this time forward became the Stage of such Calamities, and for several Years together afforded Examples of such strange and frequent Revolutions, as the World can hardly parallel.

Stilicho was the only Man who stood unshaken at the Approach of this furious Tempest, silencing their Fears, and reviving their Hopes and Resolutions by his seasonable Speeches and vigorous Preparations. He told 'em *the* Goths *had taken the Advantage of their own Discord and Distractions, and had broken into* Italy *when their Forces were employ'd in* Rhætia, *and that they would dare to stay no longer than 'till the Troubles were compos'd on that side. He reminded 'em how unsuccessful the Attempts upon* Italy *had ever prov'd to Foreign Armies, and promis'd 'em quickly to reduce their revolted Neighbours, and then chastise the Arrogance and Presumption of* Alarich. Accordingly he march'd with all Expedition into *Rhætia*, where the *Grisons* being confounded at his unexpected Approach began to repent of their Folly, and listen to an Accommodation. He taking the Advantage of their Fear reduc'd 'em by gentle Means to their Duty, and incited 'em to employ their Arms in the Defence of the Empire and *Honorius*. This Affair being happily concluded, he apply'd himself with great Diligence to the raising an Army for the Defence of *Italy*. To those Troops that had serv'd in *Rhætia* he added such as he could draw out of *Gaul*, *Britain*, and other Parts, and with his new Army, amounting to about Thirty five thousand Men, he return'd back into *Liguria*, inspiring new Life into the States and Cities of *Italy*.

A.D. 403. Honorius *besieg'd in* Hasta,

Honorius was at this time in the City of *Hasta*, whither *Alarich* was advanc'd in the Depth of Winter to besiege him, there to force from him such unequal and dishonourable Terms, as the visible Extremity

tremity of his Affairs encourag'd him to propoſe to him. *Stilicho* being inform'd of the Danger the Emperor was in, haſten'd with the utmoſt Diligence to his Relief, which, with a true Courage, he effected; for paſſing over the *Adda* he broke thorough the Enemy's Camp, and threw himſelf with a ſufficient Force into the Town. *Alarich* was much diſhearten'd at this unexpected Bravery in the *Romans*, and began to be weary of his *Italian* Expediton, whereupon he ſummon'd a Council of War, in which it was reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege, as they did accordingly. *Stilicho* placing himſelf at the Head of the Army, which by this time was come up, march'd after the *Goths*, and overtook 'em at *Pollentia*, or *Polenza*, ſeven Miles diſtant from *Haſta*, where he engag'd and defeated him. One *Saul*, a *Pagan* and Barbarian, had the Chief Command of the *Alan* Horſe that ſerv'd in the Emperor's Army: He concluding the *Goths* out of reſpect to their Religion, being Chriſtians, tho' of the *Arian* Sect, would not Fight on *Eaſter*-day, attack'd 'em upon that ſolemn Feſtival, promiſing himſelf an abſolute Victory; but the *Goths* ſeeing themſelves ſo hardly preſs'd upon took to their Arms, and fought with greater Animoſity, ſo that *Paul* was Slain, and his Troops put to Flight, and thereby endanger'd the Miſcarriage of the whole Wing, had not *Stilicho* come ſeaſonably in with the Legions to their Aſſiſtance; he rally'd the Horſe, drew up the whole Army, and ſo began the Fight afreſh, which was maintain'd on both ſides with much Reſolution. At length the Victory inclin'd to the *Romans*; for after an obſtinate Conteſt the Barbarians gave Ground, and loſt as many in the Purſuit as they had done in the Fight. *Stilicho* remain'd Maſter of the Field of Battel, and the *Romans* pillag'd the Camp of the Enemy, where they

Roman is reliev'd by Stilicho.

Alarich *defeated at* Pollentia;

recover'd many Captives, and found an ineſtimable Treaſure which the *Goths* had plunder'd in the wealthy Cities of *Greece*, among which, if *Claudian* may be credited, were the Purple Robes of the Emperor *Valens*. *Stilicho* might have intercepted the *Goths* in their Flight, and have deſtroy'd *Alarich*, but he thought fit to let him eſcape over the *Po* with the remainder of his Troops, either becauſe he conceiv'd it imprudent to preſs too hard upon Barbarians in Deſpair, or for that he intended to make ſome uſe of them afterwards, or deſir'd to render himſelf by the War more conſiderable to the Empire; whatever the Reaſons were, by an Agreement between them, they were immediately to quit *Italy*; in purſuance to which *Alarich* retir'd with his ſhatter'd Troops as far as *Verona*, but there, in Breach of his Promiſe to *Stilicho*, he put himſelf into a Condition of engaging a ſecond time with the *Romans*, ſhould they think fit to hazard another Battel; which *Stilicho*, provok'd at the Perfidiouſneſs of the Barbarian, was the more inclinable to do, both becauſe the Enemy was drawn farther off from *Rome*, and the River *Po* was betwixt 'em.

and again at Verona. Here the *Romans* had once more the Advantage, and *Alarich* narrowly eſcaping fled with the Remnant of his Army to the Mountains, over which he attempted to paſs into *Rhætia* or *Gaul*, but was oppos'd by *Stilicho*, who kept him in ſo long 'till moſt of his Men forſook him and join'd with the *Romans*; and then, after he had undergone a multitude of Inconveniences, he retir'd with a few of his Companions into *Dalmatia*. *Stilicho*, by all appearance, might have prevented his Eſcape, but he is thought to have enter'd into a ſecret Confederacy with him, thinking his Grandeur and Authority with the Emperor could by no means be maintain'd ſo well as by the continuance of the War.

This

This Year, so remarkable for the Success of the *Romans* against *Alarich*, had *Theodosius*, the Son of *Arcadius*, and *Rumorodius* for Consuls. *Theodosius* was then but two Years of Age, and had the Year before been declared *Augustus* by his Father; the East all this while enjoy'd a perfect Peace, and *Arcadius* found himself at leisure to ease several of his Subjects by some wholesome and seasonable Laws, and reward such as had been zealous in his Service. About the latter end of the Year *Honorius* remov'd from *Ravenna* towards *Rome*, as well to triumph for his Victories over the *Goths*, as to satisfie the Senate and People, who by their several Petitions had desir'd the Honour of his Presence. At *Rome* he enter'd into his sixth Consulship, chusing *Aristænetus* for his Collegue. The People were overjoy'd to see him, especially upon such an occasion, and express'd their Satisfaction in costly Feasts, magnificent Shows, and other publick Demonstrations of their Joy. In the mean time *Stilicho* is said to have made a Peace with *Alarich*, and that with the Emperor's Participation; the Conditions of it were, *That* Alarich *should retire with all his Troops out of the Territories of* Honorius, *and break into the Eastern Part of* Illyricum, *which belonged to* Arcadius; *that* Honorius *or* Stilicho *should, in time convenient, send* Jovius, *Lieutenant for the Emperor in the Western* Illyricum, *who in Conjunction with the* Goths *should seize upon both Parts in Behalf of* Honorius; upon which *Alarich* went and possess'd himself of *Epirus*, a Branch of the Eastern Empire, where he waited in Expectation of *Stilicho*'s Promises. A. D. 404.

About this time began the Troubles of St. *Chrysostome*, that worthy Father of the Church, and Bishop of *Constantinople*, which ended not but with his Life. Being a declar'd Enemy to all Vice and vici- *St.* Chrysostome *Persecuted.*

vicious Practices, he often exclaim'd in his Sermons againſt the Pride, Wantonneſs and Vanity of the Female Sex, which drew upon him the ill Will of ſeveral Ladies in the Court, amongſt whom were *Marſa*, or *Martia*, the Widdow of *Promotus*; *Caſtruccia*, *Saturnius* his Widdow; and *Eugraphia*; theſe three joining together perſuaded the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, that St. *Chryſoſtome* in one of his Sermons had call'd her *Jezebel*, at which ſhe was extreamly incens'd againſt him. Some Biſhops, whom he had depos'd by reaſon of their corrupt Lives, and ſeveral Prieſts whom he had reprov'd and corrected for their Licentiouſneſs, embrac'd ſo favourable an Opportunity of Revenge; among theſe was *John*, one of his own Deacons, who produc'd ſeveral Articles againſt him, to which a Synod of Biſhops, ſummon'd for that purpoſe by *Theophilus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, his declared Enemy, requir'd him to give in his Anſwer. The Principal of theſe Articles were, *That he ſold ſeveral conſecrated Veſſels, had laid a Snare to entrap* Severian, *Biſhop of* Gabala; *had ordain'd four Biſhops at one ſingle Ordination; had ſuffer'd Women to come into his Chamber when no one was by; had conferr'd Holy Orders on ſeveral Perſons without Teſtimonials, or the Conſent of his Clergy; that he eat by himſelf, and led a very beaſtly, glutonous Life*; and the like. Among thoſe who appear'd the moſt vigorous againſt him were *Severian* of *Gabala*, *Acacius* of *Beræa*, and *Antiochus* of *Ptolemaius*; who tho' they were all Men remarkable in their Generation for their Eloquence and Knowledge of the Scriptures, yet did they ſuffer themſelves to be miſs-led by *Theophilus*, either out of Envy to his great Reputation, or ſome other private Regard. After ſeveral Citations this Mock-Synod preſum'd to pronounce a formal Sentence upon him, tho' they all knew that the Particulars with which

he

he was charg'd were either falſe or inſignificant. Having by an Unanimity of Voices declar'd him depos'd from his Function, they order'd their Sentence to be communicated as well to the Clergy as the Court, and undertook to inform the Emperor, that *Chryſoſtome* having had the Arrogance to call the Empreſs *Jezebel* was guilty of High-Treaſon. *Arcadius* confirm'd the Judgment of the Synod, baniſh'd him the City, and conſtrain'd him to Embark in an obſcure, tempeſtuous Night, and retire to *Prenotus* in *Bithynia*.

But the Day following both the Emperor and the Empreſs were ſo alarm'd at a terrible Earth-Quake, in which the Emperor's Apartment ſuffer'd very much, that they reſolv'd to recal him; he return'd accordingly, and was reſtor'd to his Biſhoprick, from which however he was again thruſt out not long after. For a Statue being erected in Honour of the Empreſs, near the great Church of St. *Sophia*, in *Conſtantinople*; thoſe who had the Care of the Dedication repreſented ſeveral Idolatrous Shows to the People, who, pleas'd with the Performance, gave ſuch a loud and tumultuous Applauſe, as diſturb'd and interrupted the Divine Service; hereupon the Biſhop exclaim'd, with his uſual Zeal, againſt the Authors of ſuch an unſeaſonable Diſorder, and let fall ſome Words relating to the Occaſion of it, which being reported to the Empreſs, were made to ſpeak a Senſe different from what he intended, which reviv'd her Diſlike to him, and made her reſolve to ruin him; whereupon ſhe ſtirr'd his old Enemies up againſt him, ſupported 'em with her Authority and Intereſt in the Emperor, and never left off 'till he was once more Depos'd and Baniſh'd. For three Years together he liv'd an Exile, labouring under great Hardſhips in his own Perſon, and under no leſs in thoſe his Friends were

made

made to endure for his ſake. His Enemies ſtill perſiſted to perſecute him even in his Exile, procuring him to be remov'd, by the Emperor's Order, from place to place, and to be roughly us'd by the Soldiers who had the Charge of him; at laſt having ſuffer'd all the Fatigues of a three Months Voyage, during which they hurry'd him up and down with much Inhumanity, tho' he had a Feaver upon him, occaſion'd by their barbarous Treatment, which they plainly told him they did by Order from the Court, that he might die upon the Road; they brought him to *Cumana*, in a Temple near which Place they lodg'd him for that Night; the next Morning the Holy Biſhop finding his End approaching, and that he had not long to live, deſir'd them to defer their Journey but for a few Hours, which they were ſo far from granting, that they preſs'd him with more haſte than ordinary, but were ſcarce advanc'd a League and half on their Way before they found his Feaver ſo ſtrong upon him that they were forc'd to return back to the Temple, where, upon the Fourth of *November*, he expir'd. In his Life he ſtood the main Champion for the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion, and in his Death was a Reproach to ſeveral who openly profeſs'd, and ought to have been as ſhining Lights to the reſt of the World, but had not arriv'd to that Purity of Spirit and Integrity of Heart, requir'd and enforc'd ſo often in the Goſpel. We may learn from the Sufferings this Great Man endur'd, how requiſite a Brotherly Love is to the Peace and Unity of the Church, and that the want of it does not proceed more from a Diſagreement in Points of Doctrine, than from ſome private Ends and ſelfiſh Conſiderations, from which the Fathers of the Church themſelves are not always free.

That

That St. *Chryſoſtome* ow'd all his Misfortunes to the Malice of the Empreſs *Eudoxia* we have no reaſon to doubt. She was, according to the Hiſtorian, a Woman inſupportably Inſolent, impoſing upon her Husband, and being impoſed upon by her Eunuchs, who committed great Diſorders, and brought innumerable Corruptions into the Court, which was peſter'd with Paraſites and Informers; ſo that if St. *Chryſoſtome* tax'd her obliquely in his Sermons, it as well became the great Character he bore in the Church, as it became her Pride to reſent it. The Night after his ſecond Baniſhment the Epiſcopal Palace took Fire, the Flames of which laid hold on the Roof of the great Church adjoining to it, which was preſently reduc'd to Aſhes, together with the Hall where the Senate us'd to aſſemble. This Misfortune was imputed to St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Friends, as if they had ſet Fire to the Church with an Intent to have no other Biſhop there but himſelf; upon which Conſideration they were cruelly Perſecuted, and thrown into Priſon, where ſeveral of 'em dy'd of the Torments inflicted on 'em: But the Intelligence the Court had of ſome freſh Commotions put a ſtop to their violent Proceedings; for the *Iſauri*, who inhabited the moſt inacceſſible Places of the Mountain *Taurus*, fell in ſeveral Bodies down upon the adjacent Country, where they over-ran the Villages and unfortify'd Towns which they ſack'd and plunder'd. The Court made Choice of one *Arbazacius* to oppoſe 'em and relieve *Pamphylia*. Upon his Approach they retir'd back into the Mountains, whither he purſu'd 'em, and apply'd himſelf with ſo much Vigour to the Service at firſt, that had he perſiſted he might have totally ſubdu'd 'em, and prevented the like Depredations for the future; but being a Man given up naturally to Eaſe and Pleaſure he grew remiſs,

A Fire in Conſtantinople.

remiſs, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be brib'd, preferring his private Gain to the publick Good. Of this great Complaint was made to the Court, whither he was ſent for in order to be call'd to an Account for his Prevarication; but preſenting the Empreſs with part of what he had gotten from the *Iſauri* he evaded the Proſecution, and ſpent the reſt in the faſhionable Diverſions of the City.

A. D. 406. Radagaiſus *Invades* Italy.

The Year following *Rome* was again threaten'd with no leſs than an utter Deſtruction, from an Inundation of Barbarians led on by *Radagaiſus*, term'd by St. *Auſtin* King of the *Goths*. He obſerving *Alarich*, after his diſgraceful Overthrow, was receiv'd into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and being honour'd and reſpected by 'em was averſe from War, and willing to be at Peace with them, perſuaded the Nations inhabiting the other ſide of the *Rhine* and the *Iſter* to fall into *Italy*, and revenge upon it the late Slaughter of their Countrymen, alluring 'em with the Hopes of taking *Rome*, the Wealth of which he promis'd to give up to 'em. Hereupon a Body of four hundred thouſand Men united themſelves under him, and march'd directly for *Italy*. Upon the firſt Intelligence of their Motions, *Stilicho* advis'd *Honorius* to add to his *Roman* Legions ſuch Numbers of the *Hunns* and *Alans* as were willing to ſerve him under the Conduct of *Uldes* and *Sarus*; and as if all theſe were not ſufficient to Encounter ſuch Swarms of Barbarians, he invited the Slaves to take Arms upon Promiſe of Liberty, a thing never known to be done, but when the Common-wealth was reduc'd to the greateſt Extremity; and that thoſe that were Free-men might be encourag'd to Arm themſelves in Defence of their Country, he engag'd himſelf to pay them, that came in by ſuch a time, a certain Sum by way of Advance or Gratuity.

Rada-

Radagaiſus having in the mean time ravaged all *Pannonia*, was paſs'd the *Julian Alps* and got into *Italy*, directing his Courſe towards *Rome*, which he was already Maſter of in his Imagination. Being a Heathen he was very ſuperſtitious, performing his Sacrifices every Morning to his Gods. As he drew near the City the *Romans* were in the greateſt Conſternation; and the Heathens, who ſtill made up a conſiderable Part of the Inhabitants, declared aloud that *Radagaiſus* would aſſuredly prevail, not ſo much upon the Account of his numerous Forces as his Devotion to the Gods, who were baniſh'd by the ungrateful Citizens from *Rome*, which had deſerted their Worſhip, and forſaken them that had ſo often defended her; therefore unleſs the ancient Religion was reſtor'd, and Chriſtianity aboliſh'd, the City would certainly fall into the Hands of the Barbarians. With ſuch Complaints as theſe was every Corner of the City fill'd, and Chriſt's Name blaſphem'd as the Occaſion of the preſent Calamities. *Stilicho* had prudently declin'd oppoſing himſelf againſt *Radagaiſus* and his numerous Army, whilſt he was in the open Champaign Country, where he might in a manner be ſurrounded by the Barbarians; but when he found him advanc'd as far as *Hetruria*, call'd at preſent *Tuſcany*, a Region full of craggy Mountains and narrow Vallies, and that he was ſet down before *Florence*, which he had ſo well ſupply'd with Neceſſaries that it was able to make a very vigorous Defence, then like a wary Captain he thought fit to ſet upon him: Accordingly he advanced towards him, and after he had ſufficiently weary'd out his Army in that Siege, he watch'd an Opportunity, and fell upon his Rear with ſo much Reſolution, that no leſs than an hundred thouſand of his Men were cut off, without the Loſs of one Man on the *Roman* ſide. He drew up with the reſt of

Radagaiſus *defeated*,

of his Army to the Mountains of *Fæsulæ*, where he secured his Men from the *Roman* Attacks, but expos'd 'em to the Inconvenience of a barren desolate Place, in which they were closely besieg'd by *Stilicho*. In this Condition he attempted to escape, and leave his Men to the Mercy of the *Romans*, into whose Hands he fell together with his Sons, and was shortly after put to Death. The rest of the Barbarians, overcome with Hunger, submitted in such great Numbers that they were sold by the *Romans* like Beasts, a whole Drove at a time: But having contracted an ill Habit of Body by their long Fasting, and unwholesome Diet afterwards, they all dy'd in a few Days; and *Stilicho* had a Statue of Brass erected to his Memory, as a Reward for his great Industry, and extraordinary Service.

and Slain.

Whilst *Europe* was thus harass'd and oppress'd by the Barbarians, the State of *Africk* was serene and quiet; but the Repose of the Church was interrupted by the Donatists, who us'd the Catholicks with great Outrage and Violence. *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, had summon'd a Synod against 'em, from whence *Theatius* and *Enodius*, two venerable Prelates, were deputed with Letters to the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, in which they inform'd 'em that they had left nothing unattempted to reduce those Hereticks to the Church; but that they still continu'd obstinate, and instead of inclining to their Christian Proposals, they fell in a most outragious manner upon those Catholicks that came in their way, and had forcibly seiz'd upon several of their Churches. These Proceedings made 'em fly to their Majesties for Protection, beseeching 'em to have a regard to the Catholick Interest, and put a stop to the violence of those Hereticks, lest they compell'd the People by force to subscribe to their mischievous Doctrines. *Honorius* readily granted their Request

and

and proceeded with great Rigour againſt the Donatiſts, by which means ſeveral of 'em relinquiſh'd their Errors, and return'd into the Boſom of the Church. But the moſt zealous among 'em would liſten to no Accommodation, but exercis'd great Cruelties upon all thoſe who were not of their Perſuaſion, whenever they could lay their Hands upon 'em.

A new Invaſion of the Barbarians.

This ſame Year the Barbarians pour'd themſelves with freſh Forces into the Empire under the Conduct of *Godegiſil*, King of the *Vandals*, who ſeeing *Italy* diſtracted with Wars on every ſide, thought he had now a fit Opportunity to invade *Gaul*; which being removed far from the Emperor's Preſence, could not be ſo ſpeedily reliev'd. Departing therefore out of *Scythia* at the Head of his *Vandals* and *Alans*, he firſt march'd through *Sarmatia*, where he was join'd by ſome of the *Quadi* and other Barbarians, who had formerly ſettled themſelves there by the Permiſſion of *Conſtantine* the Great. With theſe he enter'd into *Germany*, where great Numbers of the Inhabitants aſſociated themſelves with him, either forced to it through Fear, or allured by the hopes of Plunder. Having now a very numerous Army at his Command, he advanc'd with all Expedition to the *Rhine*, where the *Franks* at firſt oppos'd him, either out of regard to a League they had lately enter'd into with *Stilicho*, or for that they were willing to preſerve a Province they hoped one day to be Maſters of themſelves, from the Incurſions of ſo numerous an Enemy; but being overpower'd with Odds they were forced to retire, and ſuffer *Godegiſil* to advance with his Army, who paſs'd the *Rhine* the thirtieth of *December*, *An. Dom.* 406. *Arcadius* being the ſixth time and *Probinus* Conſuls.

They

They were no ſooner got on the other ſide the *Rhine*, but they miſerably haraſs'd the Country on every ſide, whilſt the Governors of the Provinces, who had been placed there by the Emperor, were in no Condition to oppoſe 'em. The firſt City that felt their Fury was *Mayence*, which they took by Aſſault; here many thouſands of the Inhabitants fled for Refuge into their Churches, whom however they moſt cruelly maſſacred, and then raſed the City. *Wormes* held out a conſiderable time, but deſpairing of any Relief they at laſt ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. The Cities of *Spires* and *Strasbourgh* followed the ſame Fate, being taken and pillaged. From hence they marched on to *Rheims*, which they took by Storm; after which they cut off the Head of *Nicaſius*, Biſhop of the Place, and put his Siſter *Eutropia*, and great Multitudes of the other Inhabitants to Death. From *Rheims* they went to *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Amiens*, and up as far as the Sea-Coaſts about *Calice* and *Bologne*, ſacking and pillaging all the Towns they met in their March.

The Britains *rebel, and ſet up a new Emperor.*

This Misfortune was attended by another; for the Inhabitants, and Troops that were quarter'd in *Britain*, fearing leſt the *Vandals* ſhould paſs over the Sea and ſubdue them with the reſt, revolted from their Obedience to *Honorius*, and ſet up one *Mark*, whom they declared Emperor. Preſently after, being on a ſudden grown weary of their new Prince, they deprived him of his Life and Dignity together, and placed one *Gratian* in his Room, who was a Countryman of their own. Him they veſted with an Imperial Robe, and dutifully attended him for four Months together, but then upon ſome Diſlike they murder'd him, and conferr'd the Sovereignty upon one *Conſtantine*; not ſo much in reſpect to his Courage, for he was a very inconſiderable Man in the Army, but in regard of his Name, which they look'd

look'd upon as fortunate, and importing good Succeſs: For they were in hopes he would deliver 'em from the Barbarians who had over-run *Gaul*, and govern the Empire with Honour and Reputation, as *Conſtantine* the Great had done in the foregoing Age, who was of the ſame Name, and had been advanced to the Imperial Dignity in the ſame Iſland. This new Prince, immediately after his Promotion, paſs'd over into *Gaul*, and taking with him the very Flower of all the *Britiſh* Youth, ſo utterly exhauſted the Military Force of the Iſland, that it was wholly broken, and the Iſland left naked to new Invaders, by which means ſhe loſt her old Inhabitants, and ſubmitted to the Power of other Lords.

Conſtantine, as ſoon as he was got on the other ſide, laid Siege to *Bologn*, which he carry'd with little Oppoſition, after which all the *Roman* Forces in the Country came readily in and join'd him; by whoſe Aſſiſtance he made himſelf Maſter in a ſhort time of all *Gallia Celtica* and a great part of *Aquitain*, whilſt *Limenius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Cariobaudes*, General of the Foot, concluding it impoſſible to reſiſt *Conſtantine* and the *Vandals* both at once, fled into *Italy* with the Relicks of their Army; leaving the *Vandals* to waſte the Country on one ſide, and *Conſtantine* to purſue his Succeſs on the other.

Honorius receiv'd the firſt Intelligence of this Revolt at *Ravenna*, where he was intent upon raiſing an Army, which was to march into *Illyricum* and join *Alarich*, as it had been formerly agreed between'em, and together with him fall upon his Brother's Territories; to which he had been induced either at the Inſtigation of *Stilicho*, who found he had great Enemies in *Arcadius* his Court, or becauſe *Honorius* thought himſelf affronted in his Embaſſadors, by the rough Uſage they receiv'd from *Ar-*

cadius, to whom they were ſent with Letters from his Brother in behalf of St. *Chryſoſtome*. But as ſoon as he was inform'd of theſe ſtrange Revolutions in *Gaul*, he chang'd his Deſign, and ſo the *Illyrian* Expedition was interrupted.

A. D. 408. Arcadius *dies.*

The Year following, on the firſt of *May*, in the Conſulſhip of *Baſſus* and *Philippus*, *Arcadius* the Emperor dy'd at *Conſtantinople*; he left behind him one Son, and four Daughters; *Pulcheria*, *Placilla*, *Arcadia*, and *Marina*; who became all of 'em illuſtrious for their Piety, and Zeal for the true Religion. *Arcadius* dy'd in the Flower of his Age, being not full one and thirty Years old; of which he had reign'd twelve with his Father, and thirteen Years three Months and fifteen Days after his Death.

His Character.

He was himſelf a Prince well inclined, a great Lover of his Subjects, and a Friend to Juſtice and Sobriety, but he ſuffer'd himſelf to be too much ruled and impoſed upon by his Favourites, who abuſing his Authority moſt grievouſly oppreſs'd his Subjects. He was ſomething too uxorious, eſpecially at the latter end of his Reign, which involv'd the Government in a great many Difficulties, and introduced ſtrange Corruptions into the Court. He left for his Succeſſor *Theodoſius* ſirnamed the Younger, being at his Father's Death no more than ſeven Years old, but he reign'd above two and forty Years after his Deceaſe. *Arcadius* found by the Meaſures his Brother *Honorius* took, and his Practices in *Illyricum*, that he had little reaſon to depend upon him; fearing therefore leſt after his Death he ſhould ſtrip his Son of the Empire, he left him to the Care and Protection of *Iſdegerdes*, King of *Perſia*, with whom he had lately enter'd into a ſtrict League and Alliance for an hundred Years, and in whoſe approved Honour and Virtue he knew his Son would find a ſure Refuge. *Iſdegerdes* undertook the Charge with

He makes the King of Perſia his Son's Guardian.

Sin-

Sincerity, and acquitted himself as faithfully; for being unable to quit his own Dominion, and take care of *Theodosius*, or attend to the Administration in person, he sent *Antiochus* in his room to *Constantinople*, a prudent, honest, and experienc'd Statesman; to whom was join'd in Authority *Anthemius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who had been Consul three Years before: He was one of the greatest Men of the Age, being a zealous Christian, a vigilant Statesman, an honest Courtier, and a valiant Soldier. *Socrates* saith he encompass'd *Constantinople* with new Walls and Fortifications, that he never undertook any thing without the Advice and Approbation of the ablest Men in the State, but above all others he rely'd much upon *Troilus* the Sophist, a wise Man, and of much Experience. Some say *Anthemius*, the better to secure the Empire to *Theodosius*, procur'd the Peace between the *Romans* and *Persians* for an hundred Years; which however was confirm'd in his Father's Life-time, as we observ'd before, tho' it's very likely he might be instrumental in the causing it to be renew'd.

This Peace contributed very much to the Advancement of the Christian Faith in *Persia*, whither *Maruthas*, Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, being sent in an Embassy, he is said to have cured the King by his Prayers of a Distemper under which he had been long afflicted, and deliver'd his Son who was possess'd with a Devil. These Cures were look'd upon as miraculous, in consideration of which the Prince gave *Maruthas* leave to build several Churches throughout his Dominions; and was almost perswaded to embrace the Faith himself, having discover'd the Impostures of his own false Doctors, among which this was not the least remarkable. The *Magi*, who were afraid Christianity was going to be built upon the Ruins of Paganism, convey'd a

Socrat. L. 7. C. 8.

Man privately under the Temple of the Sun, who when the King came thither to perform his Sacrifices, cryed out from beneath with a hollow and dismal Voice, that Isdegerdes *ought to be dethron'd, having provok'd the God of the* Persians *by his impious Favours shown to the Christians.* This Voice, which he thought came from Heav'n, at first much surpriz'd the superstitious Prince, but he was soon undeceiv'd by *Maruthas*, who advis'd him to open the Ground near that Place where the Voice seem'd to be deliver'd; which was no sooner done but they discover'd a Hole wherein a Man lay conceal'd, who was immediately put to Death by the King's Order, together with several of the *Magi.* This Relation will not seem strange to those, who are not ignorant of the many Impostures put upon the World now-a-days, by the villainous Artifices of the *Roman* Priests.

Honorius had not as yet heard of his Brother's Death, but had his Thoughts intent upon *Constantine*, and his Progress in *Gaul*, against whom *Stilicho* had sent one *Sarus* at the Head of a sufficient Army; who meeting with *Justinian*, one of the Usurper's Officers, a Man ignorant and uncapable, he kill'd him upon the Place, with the greatest part of his Forces; and having got a very rich Booty, he march'd towards *Valentia*, whither he heard *Constantine* was remov'd, and where he resolv'd to besiege him. *Nevigastes* was another of the Usurper's Generals, whom *Sarus* by fair Promises drew off to his Party, but afterwards order'd him to be slain, contrary to the Faith he had given him. Into their Places *Constantine* advanc'd *Gerontius* and *Edobechus*, the one a *Frank*, and the other born in *Britain.* *Sarus* was too sensible of the Courage and Experience of those two Persons to wait their coming, and therefore he rose up in haste from *Valentia*, after he had laid

laid Siege to it seven Days. They pursu'd him with so much Vigour and Execution, that with long Marches and many Dangers he got to the *Alps*, where he was forc'd to buy his Passage into *Italy* by quitting all his Booty to the *Bacaudæ*, an hardy desperate People inhabiting those Parts.

After this *Constantine* united all his Forces together, and with much Diligence fortify'd the *Alps* that lay between *Gallia Celtica* and *Italy*, and that he might secure himself from the Insults of the Barbarians, as well as of the *Romans*, he fortify'd the *Rhine*, and then made *Constans* his eldest Son *Cæsar*; having recall'd him from *Winchester*, as our Writers say, where he had devoted himself to a Monastical Life. After this *Constantine*, having made sure of the greatest part of *Gaul*, which submitted to him, settl'd his Imperial Seat at *Arles*, from whence he sent *Constans* with a powerful Army into *Spain*, where he proceeded with much Success, and took *Didymius* and *Verenianus* Prisoners; these were two of *Theodosius* his Relations, and if we may believe *Zosimus* had much disturb'd the Affairs of their Country, which therefore with more readiness submitted to *Constans*; who having committed the Command of the Army, and the Care of the *Pyrenees* to *Gerontius* his Lieutenant, he return'd into *Gaul*, and presented the Prisoners to his Father, by whose Order they and their Wives were immediately put to Death. All this while *Godegisil* was pursuing his Conquests, proceeding out of *Gaul* into *Spain*; for by a private Agreement betwixt him and *Constantine*, whilst *Constans* was Conquering the Eastern Parts, he was to seize on the West; whereupon the *Vandals* took *Gallicia*, where they settl'd: The *Suevi* push'd their Conquests farther, and the *Alans* fix'd themselves in *Portugal* and *Andalousia*. From these Barbarians descended

Constantine's *Progress.*

the Ancient Kings of *Spain*, the first of which in the Catalogue is *Hermenric*, King of *Gallicia*.

Honorius *Marries his first Wive's Sister.*

During these Transactions in *Gaul* and *Spain*, the Emperor *Honorius*, who had lately lost his first Wife, the Eldest Daughter of *Stilicho*, was marry'd to *Thermantia* her younger Sister. This incestuous Match, to which *Stilicho* is said to have been very averse, was effected by the Procurement of his Wife *Serena*, who hop'd by this means to preserve her Authority over *Honorius*, who indeed was very much guided by her. Tho' he had Cohabited many Years with *Mary* the Elder, he never had any Chidren, which made *Serena* more desirous to Marry him to the Younger, being ambitious of Royal Issue, but she likewise continu'd Childless; the reason of this we have from *Zosimus*, who tells us that when *Honorius* was first contracted to Marry, her Mother knew she was too young for his Bed, and yet was not able to prevent or defer the Nuptials; fearing therefore her Daughter's Life to be in Danger, she had recourse in this Extremity to an old Woman, who by her Charms work'd so far with the Emperor, that her Daughter liv'd and dy'd a Virgin; for it seems the Spell had a stronger Power than was design'd, and never forsook the Emperor 'till his Death. If this Account be true they must be in an Error, who impute the want of Consummation to the sudden Death of *Thermantia*, as well as her Elder Sister. *Thermantia* was depos'd after her Father's Death, and sent back to her Mother, as we shall see hereafter.

Before the Nuptial Solemnity was well over, News was brought to Court that *Alarich* having quitted *Epirus*, and pass'd the *Straits* between *Pannonia* and *Venetia*, was encamp'd at a Town call'd *Emon*, from whence he advanc'd into *Bavaria*, and

and sent to demand of *Stilicho* Mony to pay his Army, which, upon his Account, had been Quarter'd so long in *Epirus*, and likewise to defray the Charges of the present Expedition, otherwise he threaten'd to peirce into *Italy*, and lay all waste before him. Hereupon the Senate was assembl'd, and the Question put what was to be done in this Affair; after a short Consultation most of the Senators were for a War, in which *Stilicho* and his Party oppos'd 'em with great Earnestness. They that were on the other side desir'd to know why he was so fond of a Peace, which was to be bought to the great Dishonour of the *Roman* Majesty, urging that it became the Dignity of the Empire to chastise the Insolence of a Barbarian, that presum'd to make a Market both of Peace and War; to this he answer'd, That *Alarich* had by *Honorius* his Orders continu'd thus long in *Epirus*, in Expectation of being employ'd against *Arcadius*, and in Conjunction with the *Roman* Forces to have wrested *Illyricum* from him, and have join'd it to *Honorius* his Dominions; that the thing had long since been put in Execution, had he not been recall'd by the Emperor's Letters, procur'd by *Serena*'s means, who was careful to preserve a good Intelligence between the two Brothers. Whether the thing was just and reasonable or no, *Stilicho* was thought by the Senate to have given a very good Answer, and so it was agreed that *Alarich* should be paid four thousand Pounds of Gold to keep him quiet, tho' many consented against their Judgments meerly for fear of *Stilicho*; and *Lampadius*, a Man of great Birth and Reputation, openly oppos'd it, affirming boldly, *That they were not now buying a Peace, but signing a Contract of Servitude*; but fearing this Liberty of Speech might draw the Fury of the Court upon him, as soon as the Senate

A War proposed in the Senate against Alarich, *which is oppos'd by* Stilicho.

was up he fled into the next Church for Sanctuary. *Stilicho* having, by Virtue of this Act of Senate, purchas'd a Peace from *Alarich*, prepared all things for his intended Expedition againſt *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*. *Honorius* himſelf had a mind to take a Progreſs to *Ravenna*, there to view and encourage the Army that was to defend him and the Empire againſt ſo conſiderable an Enemy; to this *Stilicho* was very averſe, for he had no mind the Emperor ſhould keep any Correſpondence with the Army, and therefore endeavour'd, by all Perſuaſions poſſible, to divert him from it; but finding him firm to his Reſolution, he procur'd *Sarus*, Captain of the Barbarians that lay at *Vienna*, to raiſe ſome Diſturbance, not aiming by it at any Innovation, but only to frighten the Emperor, and deter him from his intended Progreſs.

About this time the Emperor heard of the Death of *Arcadius*, and ſent for *Stilicho* to *Bononia* to confer with him about the Publick Affairs of the Empire. *Honorius* had a mind to take a Journey into the Eaſt, to look after his young Nephew's Intereſts, and ſettle the Affairs in thoſe Parts; this *Stilicho* oppos'd with many weighty Arguments, by ſhowing him how expenſive ſuch an Expedition muſt needs be, how neceſſary his Reſidence was in *Italy* at this Conjuncture; that *Conſtantine*, who had already over-ran all *Gaul*, would take the Advantage of his Abſence, and bring more Miſchiefs upon the Empire; he added, that *Alarich* himſelf, tho' now in Peace with him, was deceitful and a Barbarian, having a powerful Army at his Command, and therefore not too far to be truſted. He rather propos'd that *Alarich*'s Forces ſhould be join'd to the *Roman* Legions, that the Army ſo united ſhould be under the joint Command of *Alarich*, and the Officers belonging to thoſe Legions; that they

ſhould

should march with all Expedition against the Usurper, and that he himself should be dispatch'd with Letters from the Emperor to *Constantinople*, containing the Substance of what he would have transacted in the East.

Tho' *Honorius* already began to entertain a Jealousie of *Stilicho*, yet he approv'd of all he propos'd, and having sign'd his Letters for *Theodosius* and *Alarich*, he departed from *Bononia*, attended by one *Olympius*, born nigh the *Euxine* Sea, a Man, says *Zosimus*, who upon the Reputation of Christian Piety, which he outwardly affected, and a great Pretence to Modesty and Sobriety, was in very great Esteem with the Emperor, who advanc'd him to a Principal Post in the Court, and employ'd him about his Person. He discoursing with *Honorius* upon the Road, encreas'd the Suspicions he had lately conceiv'd of *Stilicho*'s Designs, and particularly endeavour'd to persuade him, that he so earnestly desir'd to be sent into the East for no other reason, but that he might have the better Opportunity to remove *Theodosius*, and transfer the Sovereignty of those Parts upon his Son *Eucherius*; to which purpose he held private Correspondence with *Alarich*, with *Godegisil*, and even the Usurper *Constantine*, with whom he had hitherto prolong'd the War on purpose to make himself considerable to the State, and powerful in the Army. He so throughly convinc'd the Emperor of this, and whatever else he had to alledge against *Stilicho*, that he resolv'd to get rid of him as soon as he could, and gave *Olympius* and *Sarus* Orders to destroy him. At *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*, *Olympius* wrought so cunningly with the Soldiers, who had no Kindness for *Stilicho*, that they all mutiny'd, and in a tumultuous manner slew all those who were known to be well affected to *Stilicho*; among these were *Limenius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* in

Honorius *grows jealous of* Stilicho.

A Mutiny at Ticinum.

in *Gaul*, and *Chariabandes*, who had lately fled from *Conſtantine*, as we obſerv'd before, and were now come to the Emperor to *Ticinum*; together with theſe they ſlew *Vincentius*, *Salvius*, *Nemorius*, *Patronius* and *Longinianus*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*. Theſe were all Men Eminent in the State, but of the Inferior ſort there fell Multitudes without number. *Stilicho* was ſtill at *Bononia* when the Report of this Sedition was brought to him, and in great Conſternation call'd the Officers of the Confederate Barbarians together, with whom he conſulted what Courſe was proper to be taken. *Stilicho* at firſt was inform'd that the Emperor himſelf had miſcarry'd in the Tumult, and therefore it was unanimouſly agreed among 'em, that if *Honorius* was Slain, all the Confederates ſhould fall upon the *Roman* Soldiers, and by chaſtiſing them reſtrain the reſt; but if the Tempeſt fell only upon the Magiſtrates, then the Ringleaders of the Mutiny ſhould be puniſh'd as an Example to the reſt. By a ſecond Expreſs *Stilicho* was inform'd that no Violence had been offer'd to the Emperor's Perſon, that the Mutiny was begun by *Olympius* his Procurement, and that none but his own Friends had ſuffer'd in it; by this he ſaw they aim'd ſolely at him, and that it was time for him to conſult his own Safety; whereupon he reſolv'd to remove to *Ravenna*, a ſtrong Town well inhabited, and at his Devotion; but *Sarus*, who commanded the Barbarians that were in Garriſon there, ſeiz'd upon *Stilicho*'s Guards by Command from the Emperor, and order'd him to be taken into Cuſtody; he having notice of it fled by Night into a Church of the Chriſtians, from whence he was taken out the next Day by his own Conſent, after the Soldiers had affirm'd upon Oath, in Preſence of the Biſhop, that they had no Orders from the Emperor to kill,

but

but secure him; however he was no sooner remov'd out of the Church, before they produc'd fresh Letters from *Honorius* with a Warrant for his Death, which was executed accordingly on the Twenty third of *August*, *A. D.* 408. the Senate at the same time ordering his Name to be ras'd out of all Publick Places, and his Statues to be demolish'd. The Historians of those Times are not agreed in the Circumstances of this Execution, but concur so far in the Substance as we have related it. *Zosimus* indeed disagrees with himself, for whereas at first we were told of his Rapine and Oppression, his Luxury and Debauchery, he at parting represents him as a Man the most Modest of all others, who at that time were entrusted with the Management; for tho' he was nearly ally'd to the Emperor *Theodosius*, and had marry'd both his Daughters to his Son *Honorius*, tho' he had exercis'd the Office of General for three and Twenty Years together, yet was his Son advanc'd to no higher Employment than *Tribune of the Notaries*, nor was he ever known to prefer any Person in the Army for the sake of his Mony, so that upon the whole he seems neither pleas'd with his Advancement nor Disgrace; but in this he follows his old Maxim of arraigning, as much as he can, the Actions of all Christian Princes, and might probably bear a greater Respect to the Cause and Person of *Stilicho* for the sake of his Son *Eucherius*, who to make himself acceptable to the Heathens threaten'd, that if ever he should be advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, he would begin his Reign with the Restitution of the Temples, and Destruction of Churches. Those, who are less partial to *Stilicho*'s Memory, say he justly deserv'd the Death he suffer'd, that he introduc'd *Alarich* into *Honorius* his Dominions, and call'd the barbarous Nations into the West. After all we

Stilicho put to Death.

must

muſt allow him to have been a very great Stateſman, and a Perſon of very Excellent Qualities, but that he was too much perverted by Ambition, which blinded and deſtroy'd him. He was a Valiant Soldier, and Experienc'd General, ready in forming any Deſign, and as ſucceſsful in the Execution of it. *Honorius* was ſo implicitely guided in his Counſels by him, that for a long time he did nothing without his Approbation, ſo that he ſeem'd to be more Abſolute in the Empire than the Emperor himſelf, having a vaſt Capacity in the Management of Affairs relating either to War or Peace.

Immediately after his Death his own Eſtate, and that of his Friends and Adherents, were by Publick Edict Confiſcated to the Emperor's uſe. *Thermantia*, the Empreſs, was depos'd and ſent home to her Mother: *Eucherius* was ſeiz'd at *Narny*, and convey'd from thence to *Rome*, where, by the Emperor's Order, he was put to Death. *Theodoſius* was acquainted by Letters from *Honorius* of his Favourite's Death, and the occaſion of it; a ſtrict Alliance was concluded between 'em, and in purſuance of it they enter'd together into the Conſulate, tho' this happen'd not 'till the Year following. The Emperor's Officers proceeded with great Severity againſt the Friends of *Stilicho*, and when the Soldiers that were Quarter'd up and down in the Cities of *Italy* heard of his Death, they flew inſtantly upon the Wives and Children of the Barbarians, who, upon *Stilicho*'s Account, had enter'd into the Emperor's Pay, and putting all to the Sword ſeiz'd on whatever they had. This prov'd of very ill Conſequence, for when their Husbands, Fathers and Relations heard of this abominable Cruelty, and the impious Violation of the Faith given them in a Solemn manner by the *Romans*, they vow'd Revenge, and reſolv'd to join with *Alarich*, and in Con-

What follow'd upon Stilicho's *Death.*

Conjunction with him enter into a War against the *Romans*. Accordingly above thirty thousand of 'em quitted the Emperor's Service at once and retired toward *Alarich*, who at first seem'd cautious of receiving 'em, or giving ear to their Propofals; for a full Year was not expired since his last Peace with the Emperor, to whom he sent Messengers with Offers to confirm it, and to propose to him, That if he would raise him a small Sum of Mony to pay his Army their Arrears, and deliver up as Hostages for performance of Articles *Ætius* the Son of *Gaudentius*, and *Jason* the Son of *Jovius*, he in exchange would send him some among the chiefest of the Nobility in his own Nation, and withdraw his Troops out of *Noricum* into *Pannonia*. *Honorius* being miss-led by ill Counsel rejected his Propofals, and so lost an Opportunity of making, if not a very honourable, at least a very advantagious Peace; and yet at the same time made no Provisions for a War. Had he mustered his Forces together from all Quarters, and so dispos'd of 'em as to have stopp'd the Enemy in his Passage, or prevented his farther Progress; had he made choice of *Sarus* for his General, whose very Name was a Terror to the Enemy both for his Courage and Experience, and who had with him a great Number of Barbarians that upon trial would have been found able to make a great Resistance, he had in some measure provided against the Attempts of so powerful an Adversary: But relying wholly upon the Advice and Humours of *Olympius*, he involv'd the State in great Calamities, chusing such Persons for his Generals, as at once created Contempt and Confidence in the Minds of his Enemies; for he gave the Command of the Horse to *Turpillio*, of the Foot to *Varanes*, and made *Vigilantius* General of the Troops of the Houshold; Men of little Courage, and less Experience.

Alarich's Offers rejected by Honorius.

The

A.D. 409. The Year following *Alarich* sent for *Ataulfus*, his Wife's Brother, out of *Pannonia*, to come and join him with the *Huns* and *Goths* which he had in great Numbers under him, and be his Associate in the War; but without staying for his Arrival he began his March, in execution of his mighty Designs; and quitting *Noricum* he pass'd the *Alps*, and descended into *Friuli*, leaving *Aquileia* and *Padua* on the left Hand: Passing the *Po* without any Opposition, he drew near to *Ravenna*, and encamp'd with his Army in the Country adjoining to it. From thence he sent Embassadors to *Honorius*, who was then lying in the Town, with Offers not only of Peace but of his Service, provided he and his Men might have some Habitations assign'd 'em in *Italy*; promising, upon that consideration, to serve him and the Empire faithfully. Tho' *Honorius* was sensible *Alarich*'s Forces were much superior to his, and that he was unable to give him Battel, yet relying upon the Strength of *Ravenna*, and other Cities that were well fortify'd, together with the Supplies he expected out of the East, he was deaf to his Proposals, and answer'd him with much Assurance, that he was resolv'd never to condescend to any Offers he should make whilst he continu'd in *Italy*; out of which he advis'd him instantly to retire with his Army, unless he had a mind to be driven out by main Force, as he had been once before, which he had great reason to remember. *Alarich*, incens'd at this haughty Answer, moved with his Army towards *Rimini* and the *Picentin*, from thence into *Umbria*, call'd at present St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, raging with Fire and Sword on every side as he pass'd, to render himself the more terrible; and in this manner march'd directly to *Rome*, stopping up all the Passages that led to it: By which means the City which was crouded with Inhabitants, was presently

He enters Italy,

and marches to Rome.

sently reduc'd to Famine, which was attended by a Pestilence, proceeding from the unwholsome Diet they were forced in that Exigence to make use of, and the Infection of the Air arising from great numbers of the Dead that lay up and down the Streets unbury'd, which made that great City look like a large Charnel-House. In this Extremity the Senate dispatch'd their Embassadors out to *Alarich*, to desire him either to grant 'em a Peace upon reasonable and moderate Terms, or give 'em leave to come out in Battle-Array, and fight it out with him in the open Field like true *Romans*. Upon this he burst out into a loud Laughter, and answer'd, *Thick Grass was easier cut than thin*. When they came to debate about a Peace he demanded with an insolent Barbarity all their Gold and Silver, all their rich Moveables, together with their Slaves, without which he was resolv'd never to raise the Siege; and when he was ask'd what he would leave the Inhabitants, he reply'd sternly *Their Lives*. Hereupon they desir'd he would grant 'em a short Truce in order to a farther Treaty, which having obtain'd they return'd into the City. The Heathens that were then in *Rome*, seeing themselves reduced to such Hardships, began to cry aloud, that Recourse ought to be had to the Gods who had heretofore succour'd and preserv'd the City in the greatest Extremities; and when some *Hetruscan* Augurs affirm'd that the only way to preserve the City was publickly to restore the usual Sacrifices, the Senate consented to it: But so far was this from relieving the City, that it labour'd every Day under some new Difficulties. So that they were forc'd to treat a second time with the Barbarian, who agreed to raise the Siege upon Payment of five thousand Pounds of Gold, thirty thousand of Silver, four thousand silk Garments, three thousand Skins of Purple Dye, and as

many

many Pounds of Pepper; and for as much as a Sum so immenſe could not be rais'd by any Tax to be laid upon the Citizens, they had therefore recourſe to the Temples of the Heathen Gods, taking from thence the Silver and Gold, and whatever rich Ornaments they found in 'em, and which had hitherto been apply'd to Idolatrous Purpoſes, wherewith they made good the Deficiency. *Alarich* having receiv'd the Sum they agreed upon, retir'd with his Army into *Tuſcany*, without the Concurrence of *Honorius* to the Peace, tho' the Senate had ſent and deſir'd him to be included in it. For *Conſtantine*, who as we obſerv'd before had been declared Emperor, and had ſettled himſelf in *Gaul* and a great part of *Spain*, about this time ſent his Embaſſadors to *Honorius*, who were to ask his Pardon for that he had aſſum'd the Imperial Title which had been forc'd upon him.

Honorius *makes* Conſtantine *his Aſſociate in the Empire.*

Honorius not only admitted of his Excuſe, but ſent him back the Imperial Habit, and aſſociated him in the Empire, expecting he would come to his Aſſiſtance againſt *Alarich*, as he had promis'd; and beſides the Advantage of having but one Enemy to deal with at a time, he thought it the readieſt way to procure the Safety of his Kinſmen, *Veronian* and *Didymius*, of whoſe Murder he was at that time ignorant. This new Accommodation made *Honorius* averſe to any Thoughts of a Treaty with *Alarich*, tho' the Senate had ſent their Deputies expreſly to him upon that account, and *Alarich* inſiſted upon nothing but being made Commander in chief of the *Roman* Armies, as well Horſe as Foot; to which *Honorius* could by no means be brought to conſent, urging that it would be a Diſgrace to the Dignity of the *Roman* Majeſty, and very prejudicial to the Empire, and ſo the Meſſengers were ſent back without any ſatisfactory Anſwer.

About

About this time *Ataulfus*, whom *Alarich* had sent for, as we observ'd before, had pass'd the *Julian Alps*, and was advanc'd into the Coasts bordering upon the *Adriatick*, with an Intent to join and reinforce *Alarich*'s Army. *Honorius* drew out the best of his Forces garrison'd in the Towns thereabouts, and sent 'em under the Conduct of *Olympius* to hinder so dangerous a Conjunction; and they behav'd themselves so well that they kill'd above fifteen hundred of the Enemy with the loss of no more than seventeen Men. Notwithstanding which great piece of Service, *Olympius*, who had been accus'd as Author of all the present Calamities being dismiss'd from Court, was glad to fly into *Dalmatia* for fear of any further Mischief; after whose Disgrace, *Jovius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, succeeded as chief Minister of State to *Honorius*, and drew the Emperor into new Troubles. For being sent to propose some new Conditions of Peace to *Alarich*, in which he appear'd too forward, and therein offended the Emperor; upon his Return he thought to re-ingratiate himself by over-acting his part on the other Hand, and having first obliged the Emperor by Oath never to make Peace with *Alarich*, but wage perpetual War with him, he made the same himself, by touching the Head of the Emperor, and exacted it from all others that were in any Place or Authority. *Alarich*, enraged to see all his Propositions for an Accommodation rejected, march'd from *Rimini* towards *Rome*, and resolv'd to lay Siege to it a second time; but observing that the Emperor was raising great Bodies of Forces on every side, that he had entertain'd ten thousand *Hunns* in his Service, and considering that the Fate of War is doubtful and precarious, he procured some Bishops to go to the Emperor, and conjure him not to suffer through his Neglect that City, which for

ſo many Ages had been Miſtreſs of the World, to be expoſed as a Prey to the Barbarians, nor give up her beautiful Buildings to be burnt and deſtroy'd, but to admit of ſuch moderate Conditions as he now propos'd; which were only a ſmall Sum of Mony, and Proviſions for his Army, together with Upper and Lower *Bavaria* for their Habitations, which paid but an inconſiderable Tribute to the Empire, and were ſubject to the continual Invaſions of their Neighbours: In conſideration of which he was ready to contract a perpetual Friendſhip and Society in War with the *Romans*, and oblige himſelf to defend the Common-wealth againſt all her Enemies whatever. All the World were ſurpriz'd at this ſudden and unexpected Modeſty in *Alarich*, who declining all former Pretenſion, had of himſelf offer'd Conditions ſo juſt and advantagious to the Empire, as the Affairs of the Emperor then ſtood. Notwithſtanding which, *Jovius* and thoſe of his Faction oppos'd all Overtures of Peace, alledging they had bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath, ſworn by the Head of the Emperor, never to make any Peace with *Alarich*; as if the Obſervance of a raſh, and indeed an unjuſt Oath, was to be preferr'd to the Welfare of the State. *Alarich* therefore, finding himſelf abus'd, marched directly for *Rome*; and as he approach'd near to the City, he ſent for the principal Inhabitants, and acquainted 'em with *Honorius* his invincible Obſtinacy, and threaten'd to take the Town by Force, unleſs the Citizens would join with him in a War againſt *Honorius*: Which when the Inhabitants could by no means be perſuaded to do, he laid cloſe Siege to the Town, took the Haven, and in it all the Publick Proviſions, which he threaten'd to diſtribute among his own Men, unleſs they inſtantly ſubmitted. They, ſeeing the Neceſſity to which they were reduc'd, and that they muſt unavoidably

New Propoſals from Alarich *rejected by* Honorius.

voidably perish for Hunger, consented to what *Alarich* had propounded; so that inviting him into the City they deliver'd him up *Placidia*, the Emperor's Sister, as an Hostage of their Fidelity, and according to his Command created *Attalus*, Præfect of the City, Emperor; who in return made *Alarich* General of the Army, and *Tertullus*, a Heathen, Consul for the Year ensuing; distributing the other great Offices among Heathens and *Arians*, being himself an *Arian*. *Alarich* advised him to send some Troops of Barbarians into *Africk*, under the Command of *Drumas*, to remove *Heraclian* who commanded there for the Emperor, and might be a great Hindrance to him in the Progress of his Affairs: But in this and other things he acted contrary to the Advice of *Alarich*, and behav'd himself in every respect like a Man whose Authority was like to be of a very short Continuance.

Alarich *makes* Attalus *Emperor*;

With the Succours he receiv'd from *Alarich* he undertook to besiege *Honorius* in *Ravenna*, who, much terrify'd at the Approach of so many Enmies sworn to his Destruction, sent and offer'd to receive him as his Partner in the Empire; but was answer'd, that *Attalus* was so far from suffering him to enjoy so much as the simple Name of Emperor, that after he had stripp'd him of his Imperial Robes, he would confine him to some remote and desolate Island, where he should spend the rest of his Days in Obscurity, glad he had so escaped with his Life. The poor Emperor was so confounded at this prodigious Arrogance, that he thought of escaping to his Nephew *Theodosius*; but at that instant six *Cohorts*, consisting of four thousand Men, that had been formerly sent for out of the East, arriv'd to his Assistance, which encourag'd him to continue at *Ravenna* in expectation of the Success of his Arms in *Africk*; concluding if *Heraclian* prevail'd

he ſhould, with the Acceſſion of his Forces, be able to make head againſt *Attalus* and *Alarich*.

Whilſt the War raged with ſuch Violence in the midſt of *Italy*, the Provinces abroad labour'd under equal Difficulties, for whilſt ſome were daring to throw off the Authority of the Empire, others preſum'd to uſurp it; but *Honorius* was too much employ'd at home to have any leiſure to look abroad. So that all things were managed in *Gaul* and *Spain*, according to the Will and Pleaſure of thoſe that were ſtrongeſt.

Alarich had a mind more cloſely to beſiege *Honorius* in *Ravenna*, which *Attalus* had block'd up by the Forces under his Command, expecting the Succeſs of his Arms in *Africk*; and when *Alarich* underſtood they had been defeated by *Heraclian*, he began to be weary of his new Emperor, whom he found unequal to ſo great a Charge. His Averſion to him was improved by ſome near *Attalus*, who had been regain'd to the Emperor's Intereſt, and made the *Goth* believe that *Attalus* had a Deſign upon his Life, the better to aſſure himſelf of the Empire, which he ſcorn'd to hold upon precarious Terms. This the King was more inclinable to believe, when he obſerv'd that by the ill Conduct of *Attalus* their Affairs were quite ruin'd in *Africk*; that *Heraclian* had ſeiz'd upon all the Ports, and thereby put a ſtop to the Importation of any Corn, or other Merchandiſe, into *Italy*. This created a great Famine throughout the Country, which was increaſed for that the Lands, by reaſon of the Wars, had not been till'd for ſeveral Years; but no Place felt it ſo grievouſly as *Rome*, where Men were ready to devour one another, and ſeveral Mothers were reported to have fed upon their own Infants; ſo that *Alarich* ſeeing the publick Calamities encreaſe through the Folly of thoſe who had the Government of Affairs,

fairs, sent his Embassadors once more to Treat with *Honorius*, promising to strip *Attalus* of that Dignity with which he had invested him. The Conditions were readily accepted by the Emperor, who on his part offer'd to agree to all his Demands. Hereupon *Alarich* return'd with his Army towards *Rome*, where he publickly depriv'd *Attalus* of the Imperial Purple, which he sent to *Honorius*, detaining the Usurper and his Son *Ampelius* Prisoners. After which he return'd towards *Ravenna*, there to confirm the Peace, on Condition he was made Co-Partner in the Empire, and some Commodious Part of *Gaul* was assign'd him for himself and his Men; in Consideration of which he would be ready to assist *Honorius* and the Empire upon all Occasions whatsoever. Both the Heathens and the *Arians* were much offended at this Accommodation, for the one had promis'd themselves mighty Advantages, *Attalus* himself being an *Arian*, and the other no less than a Re-establishment of their Idolatry, which he had promis'd them. But this peaceable Face of Affairs was shortly after chang'd by the means of *Sarus*, because it no ways countenanc'd his particular Interest. He had great Numbers of Barbarians under his own Independent Command, with which he had for some time observ'd a Neutrality; but when he found *Ataulfus*, who was his Mortal Foe, join'd with *Alarich*, he began to apprehend his Power, and declare openly for *Honorius*: Tho' he knew a Treaty of Peace had been concluded between him and the *Goths*, yet with three hundred of his Men he fell upon the *Goths*, who expected no such Usage, and kill'd a great number of 'em. *Alarich*, who concluded that what *Sarus* had done was by *Honorius* his Participation and Consent, departed in a great Rage, and went to his Army that continu'd

and Degrades him again.

Sarus prevents an Accommodation.

Rome *Taken.*

Encamp'd near *Rome*, which he preſs'd cloſer than ever, and at laſt took it, whether by Force or Stratagem is hard to be determin'd, for the Hiſtorians that have written of it are not agreed among themſelves in that Point, any more than to the particular time of the Year in which it was taken; for ſome ſay it was on the Firſt of *April*, others on the Twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, which ſeems the moſt likely. Thus that City, which for many Ages together had pillag'd the reſt of the World, and enrich'd her ſelf with the Spoils of other Nations, ſuffer'd now in her turn, and beheld that with which ſhe us'd to feed her Pride and Luxury fall into the Hands of Barbarians, her declar'd Enemies; there was hardly a Houſe throughout that vaſt and opulent City, but what ſuffer'd in the common Calamity, ſeveral of 'em being ſet on Fire by the inſolent Soldiers after they had been rifl'd. *Alarich*, before he broke into it, forbad his Soldiers, at the Peril of their Lives, from moleſting thoſe that fled for Sanctuary into the Churches, eſpecially thoſe of the Holy Apoſtles. He gave 'em free Liberty to plunder where they pleas'd, only they were commanded to abſtain from things conſecrated to Holy Uſes, and to ſpill the Blood of none but ſuch as they found in Arms, and endeavouring to make Reſiſtance. Several *Pagans* obſerving the particular Favour ſhown the Chriſtians turn'd Chriſtians too, and fled with them for Safety into their Churches, the Preſervation of which, and the extraordinary Reſpect ſhown 'em by the *Goths* in the midſt of ſo horrible a Confuſion, whilſt their own Idolatrous Temples were induſtriouſly burnt and deſtroy'd, they look'd upon as miraculous. Three Days did the City ſuffer under the Tyranny of the Barbarians, who on the third quitted it of their own accord, and left it in a much better Condition than the *Gauls* or *Ne-*

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ro had done, whose brutish Wantonness exceeded the more generous Anger of the Victorious Barbarian; so that this seem'd a shaking of the Rod over the Proud City, rather than a thorough Correction; a Denunciation of God's Anger, and not an Execution of his Judgments: Happy had it been for her if she could have taken Warning, and not after so many Trials have forc'd the Divine Vengeance down upon her Head. This Captivity of *Rome* fell out in the 18th Year of *Honorius*, the second of the 297th *Olympiad*, in the Consulship of *Varanes* and *Tertullus*, in the 1163d after her Foundation, *A. D.* 410.

CHAP. IV.

From the Taking of Rome *by the* Goths, *to the total Failure of the Western Empire in* Auguſtulus.

Containing the Space of Sixty Six Years.

1. *Alarich* having now in his Power the Imperial City, might eaſily have fix'd himſelf there, and with his Triumphant and Victorious Army have made War upon *Honorius*, and by degrees have united the Body of the Empire to the Head; but whether it proceeded from the want of good Counſel, or the ſecret Pleaſure of Divine Providence, he knew not how to make an advantagious uſe of his Victory, nor ſecure the Conqueſt he had with much Labour and Difficulty obtain'd. Driven out by an Almighty Hand, rather than of his own Accord, his ſtraggling Troops rov'd through *Campania*, *Lucania*, and *Calabria*, waſting the Country, and loading themſelves with the
A. D. Wealth of it; of which when he thought it ſuffi-
411. ciently drain'd, and had gratify'd his Humour to the full upon the Continent, he thought of paſſing, with his Army, over into *Sicily*, there to act the ſame Cruelties over again. Accordingly he drew his Forces down to *Rhegium*, where they were Embark'd; but by that time he was got out to Sea a violent Tempeſt ſeiz'd him, which beat him back upon the Coaſts of *Calabria*, where he fell upon *Conſentia*, a ſtrong Town, that refus'd to admit him, and having taken it by Force he gave it up to be plun-

plunder'd by his Soldiers. Here, as he was considering what farther Course he was to take for the Advancement of his Affairs, he was suddenly seiz'd with a Fit of Sickness, which carry'd him off in a few Days. The *Goths* exceedingly lamented the Death of their King, under whose Conduct they had perform'd such great Exploits, and met with such extraordinary Success. Lest the *Romans*, who had been so often defeated by him, should come and offer an Indignity to his Bones after he was bury'd, they turn'd the Course of the River *Busento*, by digging a great Canal for the Reception of the Water, and in the midst of the Channel they bury'd their King, and with him abundance of their Wealth, after which they restor'd their Waters to their right Course, and kill'd all the Slaves they had employ'd in the Work, that no Discovery might be made of the Place. This Solemnity being over they consulted about the Choice of a new King, and, after a short Deliberation, it fell upon *Athaulph*, or *Adolph*, Brother-in-Law to the Deceas'd; who, being thus promoted, marry'd *Placidia*, Sister of *Honorius*, who had been detain'd as an Hostage by *Alarich*, but us'd with much Honour by him. This happen'd well to the *Roman* Empire, for being a Woman of good Address, and great Discretion, she so far insinuated her self into him, that she inclin'd him which way she pleas'd. He had a Design of returning back to *Rome*, of taking it a second time, of settling himself there, and intended to call it *Gothia* instead of *Rome*, the very Name of which he had a great Ambition to obliterate; but she so temper'd him by her Prayers, Entreaties and Persuasions, that a Treaty was concluded betwixt him and the Emperor upon the same Foot with his Brother's, which was that he should quit *Italy*, and retire into *Gaul*, where a commodious Tract should

The Death of Alarich.

Athaulph *made King, marries* Placidia.

be

be assign'd for him and his new Subjects; accordingly he went and settl'd in *Gallia Narbonnensis*, where he was acknowledg'd as King and Ally of the *Romans*, whom he honestly assisted afterwards in their *Gallic* Wars; presently after this the Inhabitants of *Rome*, who had left it in the time of Danger, seeing the Storm at last blown off, and that there was some appearance of Peace, return'd in such great Numbers, that shortly after the Town was grown as populous as ever.

Constantine *breaks out again*;

And now there was hardly any left able to disturb the Publick Peace but *Constantine*, who, as we observ'd before, was receiv'd by *Honorius* into a Partnership of the Empire, upon a Promise of his Fidelity for the future, which he had not Honour enough to observe, but broke out shortly after in hopes of seizing *Italy* in the midst of so many Publick Confusions; whereupon *Honorius*, in Consideration of his restless turbulent Spirit, was resolv'd, if possible, to destroy him; and making *Constantius*, a *Roman* of great Nobility, Valour and Prudence, his Lieutenant-General, he sent him into *Gaul* with a powerful Army. *Constantine* was at that time besieg'd in *Arles* by *Gerontius*, who had been formerly his Commander in *Spain*, but having receiv'd some Unkindness from him, fought at present neither for him nor *Honorius*, but labour'd to raise one *Maximus* an Emperor of his own chusing; whilst he was pressing the Siege *Constantius* arriv'd with the Army under his Command, whereupon *Gerontius* knowing his Forces to be inferior to his rais'd the Siege, and fled into *Spain* with as many of his Troops as would follow him, for a great many of his Men, neither approving of his Conduct nor his Cause, went over to *Constantius*. *Gerontius* his ill Fortune pursu'd him into *Spain*, where the Soldiers, offended at him for his shameful Flight,

attack'd

attack'd him in his own House, which he defended with much Courage; and being assisted by no more than one Friend, and a few Slaves, he kill'd above three hundred of them, fighting obstinately 'till all their Weapons were spent, and then the Slaves consulted their own Safety and fled. *Gerontius* might with ease have sav'd himself too, but was detain'd by his Love to his Wife, whom he could not be perswaded to forsake, who begg'd him to kill her rather than suffer her to fall into the Hands of his Enemies; wherefore when he found there was no room left for Hope, he first cut off the Head of his Friend, after that his Wife's, and then dispatch'd himself.

In the mean time *Constantius* had taken up his Post, and was laying close Siege to *Constantine*, who after a Defeat of a Party that was marching to his Relief, and a Defence for four Months, divested himself of the Purple, and retir'd into the Church, where he got himself to be Ordain'd a Priest, thinking that Character sufficient to preserve his Life. As soon as it was known to the Inhabitants, and *Constantius* had taken an Oath for their Indemnity, he was receiv'd into the Town, and immediately sent away *Constantine* and his Son *Julian* to *Honorius*, by whose Order they were put to Death up- *and is put to Death.*
on the Road.

The Fate and Punishment of *Constantine* could not deter others from aiming at the like Usurpations; for at this time *Jovinus*, a Man of great Power and Quality in *Auvergne*, usurp'd the Imperial Title, and by the assistance of the *Franks*, *Burgundians* and *Germans*, was preparing to make good his Pretensions, but was overthrown by *Constantius*, who follow'd him so close that he was forc'd to fly out of the Country, after *Constantius* had taken most of his Adherents and put 'em to Death. Jovinus *Usurps in* Gaul,

After

and Heraclian *in* Africk.

After *Jovinus* follow'd *Heraclian*, who the same Year usurp'd in *Africk*; he being a Man of Power, Interest and Authority, put *Italy* at first into a great Consternation, especially when by detaining the Annual Supply of Corn they began to be in great want of Provisions. *Heraclian* had commanded the Emperor's Armies in *Africk*, had been very successful in his Services in that Province, and was design'd Consul for the ensuing Year, all which Considerations made his Rebellion more extraordi-

A. D. 413. nary, and the Issue more doubtful; he Mann'd out a very strong Fleet of Ships, and no less, according to *Orosius*, than three thousand seven hundred Sail, therein out-doing the Naval Strength of *Xerxes* and *Alexander* the Great. With this Fleet he set Sail, and after he had rov'd along upon the *Italian* Coast he landed his Men, and put *Rome* into a great Consternation; but *Marinus*, one of the Emperor's Commanders, march'd out against him at the Head of the *Roman* Youth, and *Veterane* Troops of the Empire, which made a brave Appearance, and quite dishearten'd the Usurper; who, without trusting to the issue of an Engagement, fled in great Precipitation, and getting on Board a small Chaloup, set Sail for *Carthage*, where he was kill'd the Year following by one of his own Soldiers.

Heraclian *kill'd.*

In the mean while *Constantius* was busily employ'd in *Gaul*, which by this time was so far settl'd through his Industry and Success, that of all those barbarous Nations that first follow'd *Godegisil* thither, none remain'd but the *Burgundians*, Natives originally of that Tract of Land that lyes between the *Oder* and the *Vistula*, but quitting their own Country came with the rest of the Barbarians into *Gaul*. *Constantius* thought fit to march against 'em, but they finding he was likely to prove too strong for 'em, petition'd him for Peace, and desir'd

desir'd they might be admitted as Friends and Allies to the *Romans*. *Constantius* thought it not prudent to provoke 'em too far, lest some unexpected Miscarriage should sully the Reputation of his Arms; and therefore granting their Demands, gave 'em leave to settle themselves upon the Banks of the Rivers *Rodanus* or the *Rhône*, and the *Soane*, call'd by the Ancients *Araris*. After this *Constantius* was sent for by the Emperor to *Rome*, where for his signal Services he was rewarded with the Honour of Consul and Patrician, but had not long continued at *Rome* before new Commotions recall'd him abroad; for *Adolph*, King of the *Goths*, a warlike and restless People, taking his Advantage of the Wars he saw the *Romans* engaged in, began to disturb the Empire. He had brought *Attalus* with him out of *Italy*, and now persuaded him once more to re-assume the Imperial Purple, and act the Emperor: *Attalus* being a Man of a fickle ambitious Temper readily embraced the Occasion, and by his Patron's Assistance rais'd a very powerful Army, consisting of turbulent unruly People, fond of Novelty and Confusion. Hereupon *Honorius* declared both him and *Adolph* Enemies to the Empire, and made *Constantius* his General, who was at that time esteemed the Emperor's Right Hand, and Buckler of the State. *Constantius* the more readily accepted the Service because he had no great Kindness for the *Gothick* King, so that departing from *Arles* at the Head of his Army in the Beginning of the Spring he march'd up to *Narbonne*, where *Adolph* kept his Court, whom he threaten'd with a Siege unless *Attalus* was deliver'd up to him. *Placidia* advised her Husband to quit the Interest of the Usurper, and comply with *Constantius*; but when the King could by no Persuasions be prevail'd upon to do it, *Constantius* laid Siege to the Place, and press'd him so hard that *A-*

A.D. 414.

Adolph *makes* Attalus *Emperor again*

Attalus *and* Adolph *declar'd Enemies to the Empire.*

dolph

dolph seeing there was no possibility of a Relief thought of leaving the Town and transporting his *Goths* into *Africk*; of which *Constantius* being aware he seiz'd upon all the Gallies and other Vessels riding near the Coast, so that he was forced to alter his Measures, and fly, together with *Attalus*, into *Spain*, where he seiz'd upon *Barcellona*. Here some of the *Gothick* Soldiers, who had no great Kindness for *Attalus*, laid hold suddenly upon him, and carry'd him Prisoner to *Constantius*, who put him in Chains and sent him to the Emperor, by whom he was reserv'd to be led in Triumph at the End of the War.

Attalus *taken.*

As soon as the *Vandals* understood the *Goths* were settling themselves in *Spain*, and like to be their Neighbours, they thought it their Business to prevent 'em before it was too late, and accordingly by their Embassadors to *Honorius* advis'd him to be at Peace with both Parties, and leave 'em to fight it out between themselves, for whatever Side prevail'd he was sure to be a Gainer; which was a Maxim *Honorius* afterwards observ'd, to the great Ease and Benefit of the Empire. In the mean time *Placidia* had again importun'd her Husband to renew the Peace with *Honorius*, which he could no longer refuse to a Wife he lov'd so tenderly, and who had so great a Power over him. But the *Goths*, who were of a quite contrary Inclination, and thought Peace prejudicial to their Honour and their Interest, murder'd him and six of his Children, promoting *Sigerich* to be King in his stead; who being of the same Principles in a short time after suffer'd the same Fate, and was succeeded by *Wallia*, a Man of a more warlike Genius, whose first Attempt was to transport his *Goths* into *Africk*; but being driven back by a Tempest he enter'd into a Treaty with *Constantius*, to whom he delivered up *Placidia*, the Emperor's Sister, and was to be esteemed a Friend

'Adolph *slain by his own Subjects.*

and

and Ally of the *Romans*, upon Condition he made perpetual War with the *Vandals* in *Spain*. The Peace being thus concluded *Constantius* return'd with *Placidia* to *Rome*, where by the Consent and Encouragement of *Honorius* he was marry'd to her, to the great Satisfaction of the People, whose publick Rejoycings were prolong'd by the Solemnity of *Honorius* his Triumph, in the Conclusion of which *Attalus* had his Right Hand cut off, and was confin'd to the Isle of *Lipare*.

Constantius *marry'd to* Placidia. A. D. 417.

During all these Commotions and publick Calamities, with which the Western Empire had been almost overthrown, the East by a particular Favour of Providence enjoy'd a profound Peace, under the Government of *Theodosius*, an Infant; God seeming in an especial manner to favour him, for the Encouragement Christian Piety found, not only in his own Court but almost throughout his Empire. Ecclesiastical Writers are very particular in their Commendations of this Prince, and of his Sister *Pulcheria*, who was two Years older than the Emperor, and in consideration of her great Wisdom, Virtue, and Piety, was created *Augusta*, and shared with him the Imperial Power, or rather had all resign'd up to her self; for she govern'd both him and the Empire with an absolute Authority, and administer'd Affairs with so much Prudence, that he was belov'd by his Subject, and formidable to his Enemies. Yet could not all her Care and Circumspection prevent frequent Feuds arising upon the Account of Religion, which as they begun in an ungovernable Zeal, so they very often ended in Blood, as it happen'd at this time in *Alexandria*, a City notoriously remarkable for Tumults and Seditions. Some slight Disputes between the Christians and the Jews, who inhabited there in great Numbers, so far exasperated the latter, that they resolv'd upon a cruel Revenge, especially

A Sedition at Alexandria.

cially when they found themselves favour'd and protected by the Præfect of the City, who was at Enmity with *Cyrill*, Bishop of the Place. They agreed among themselves to set upon the Christians in the Night-time, and massacre all they could get into their Hands: And the better to execute their Bloody Design, they hired some Apostate Christians to cry out in the dead of Night, that one of the chief Churches in the City was in Flames; whereupon the Christians ran in great Confusion out of their Houses to extinguish the Fire: But the Jews, who were all arm'd, and knew each other by a certain Mark of Distinction which they wore for that purpose, kill'd all as they came out into the Streets, without any Mercy. The Bishop, being highly provok'd at so great a Barbarity, went attended with multitudes of Christians to the Synagogues, whilst the Jews were assembled there, where infinite Numbers of 'em were murder'd, the rest forc'd out of the City, and their Houses plunder'd. The Præfect was so much offended at this, that tho' St. *Cyrill* did all he cou'd to appease and mollifie him, he never would listen to any Accommodation. The Noise of this Uproar came to the Ears of the Monks living upon the neighbouring Mountains, who to the number of five hundred came down and insulted the Præfect as he was riding in his Chariot, calling him Idolater, Heathen, and Unbeliever; tho' he at the same time declared himself a Christian, and that he had been baptized by *Atticus*, Bishop of *Constantinople*. This serv'd only to enrage 'em the more, insomuch that one among 'em, call'd *Ammonius*, broke his Head with a Stone, and had almost kill'd him, whilst his Attendants forsook him for fear of being murder'd, and hid themselves in the Croud. But the People, provok'd at the outragious Insolence of these Monks, fell upon 'em, and drove 'em out of

A bloody Massacre.

The Monks raise Disturbances.

of the City, seizing on *Ammonius* their Ringleader, and deliver'd him up to the Governor, who immediately put him to Death. This serv'd to widen the Breach between the Bishop and the Præfect, which occasion'd great Disorders in the City, and was fatal to *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon* the Philosopher; a young Lady, so well acquainted with all the Sects in Philosophy, that for Learning and Quickness of Apprehension she exceeded all the Philosophers of that Age; and which was a greater Ornament than all the rest, she was no less remarkable for her Modesty, Meekness, and Chastity. These extraordinary Qualifications made her Conversation courted by the Princes and Great Men of the Province, but she was intimate with none more than the Præfect, which Intimacy cost her her Life, for she was accus'd as one that hinder'd an Accommodation between the Governor and the Bishop; whereupon several of the People, among whom one *Peter* a Lecturer in a Church was Ringleader, forced her out of her Coach, drag'd her into a Church, where they stripp'd her, mangled her Body, kill'd her, and then burnt her to Ashes. *This Action*, saith *Socrates*, *brought a great Scandal upon* Cyrill *and his Flock, being so much unbecoming those who make a Profession of Christianity*: And we may likewise observe the Temper of the Monks of those Times. About this time *Innocent*, the Pope of *Rome*, began to assert his Authority over other Bishops, and to claim a Supremacy, which was as earnestly challeng'd by his next Successor *Zosimus*, nor has the Claim been dropp'd ever since.

The Year following was remarkable for the Birth of *Valentinian* the Third, of whom *Placidia* was deliver'd at *Ravenna*; but more for a great Eclipse of the Sun, and other Accidents, that much alarm'd the Minds of the People, for it was follow'd with

Valentinian III. *Born.*

ſo great a Drought, that Men and Cattle dy'd in great Numbers; after which enſued moſt dreadful Earthquakes, accompany'd with Fire that fell from Heaven, which put Men into a mortal Fear but did little Hurt, for whilſt like ſo many Waves it was overwhelming whole Countries, a ſudden and great Wind aroſe, by which it was driven into the Sea and quench'd in the Waters.

Not long after this *Honorius*, who had no Children, began to think of an Aſſociate and Succeſſor, who might ſhare with him in the Difficulties of the State whilſt he liv'd, and be a Support to the Empire after his Death. His own Experience and the Peoples Vows made him caſt his Eyes upon *Conſtantius*, who was accordingly proclaim'd *Auguſtus* with much Solemnity, and his Son *Valentinian* declar'd *Cæſar*. But as this was done without the Conſent or Knowledge of *Theodoſius* he never approv'd of it, nor would he give Audience to the Embaſſadors ſent by *Honorius* upon that account, nor receive the Picture of *Conſtantius*, ſent, as the Cuſtom was, to be placed with his own. This Indignity highly concern'd *Conſtantius*, who thought his ten Years ſucceſsful Service in the Wars againſt Uſurpers and Barbarians well deſerv'd the Honour *Honorius* had conferr'd upon him, and therefore he prepar'd to force *Theodoſius* to a Recognition, and be reveng'd upon him for the Affront, but dy'd at *Ravenna* of a Pleuriſie, occaſion'd by an immoderate Grief contracted upon that Account. 'Tis not improbable but *Theodoſius* might be the more averſe to *Conſtantius* his Promotion becauſe he then began to think of marrying himſelf, as he did not long after to *Eudocia*, Daughter of *Leontius* the *Athenian* Philoſopher: Her firſt Name was *Athenais*, which at her Baptiſm was changed, by *Atticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, for *Eudocia*. Her Father had ſo well inſtructed

Conſtantius *declar'd* Auguſtus, *and* Valentinian Cæſar.

Conſtantius *dies at* Ravenna.

ſtructed her in Philoſophy, in the Mathematicks, the Languages and the Sciences, that ſhe equall'd if not exceeded the greateſt Profeſſors in thoſe Times. Theſe Riches of the Mind *Leontius* thought a competent Fortune for his Daughter, for which reaſon he diſinherited her by his laſt Will, and left all his Eſtate to her two Brothers; whereof, as ſoon as he was dead, ſhe went and complain'd to *Pulcheria*: *Pulcheria* admiring her extraordinary Beauty, and the great Endowments of her Mind, perſuaded *Theodoſius* to marry her; which ſhe did, as ſome have imagin'd, out of Policy, and Regard to her own Intereſt, concluding that *Athenais*, who ow'd her Advancement entirely to her, would ſuffer her to continue abſolute in the Management of publick Affairs. Theodoſius *marries*.

Theſe Occurrences happen'd not 'till after the War was broken out between *Theodoſius* and the King of *Perſia*, who had broken the League with the Empire, and horribly perſecuted the Chriſtians in his Dominions. Whilſt *Iſdegerdes* liv'd, who, as we obſerv'd before, had been appointed Tutor to the Emperor, he preſerv'd a good Underſtanding betwixt the two Crowns; but his Son *Vararanes* who ſucceeded him was of a different Temper, and at the Inſtigation of the *Magi* rais'd a bloody Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians throughout all his Dominions, which was imputed in a great meaſure to the indiſcreet Zeal of a Biſhop call'd *Audas*, who burnt one of the *Perſian* Temples, and when he refus'd to re-build it, according to the Sentence pronounc'd againſt him, the King put him to Death, and order'd all the Chriſtian Churches to be demoliſh'd, and proceeded with ſuch Violence againſt the Faithful, that they came in great Numbers to *Conſtantinople*, where *Atticus* receiv'd 'em with much Compaſſion, and ſtirr'd up the Emperor in their

A. D. 419.

A Perſecution in Perſia.

Behalf. But leſt this Provocation ſhould not be thought Grounds ſufficient for a War, the *Perſians* detain'd ſome Workmen they had hired out of the *Roman* Territories, who were to dig in ſome Mines of Gold they had lately diſcover'd, and were to be return'd back after they had perform'd the Work they were hired for; and as an Aggravation of all the reſt, they robb'd and abus'd ſeveral *Roman* Merchants that traded into their Country. The King of *Perſia* firſt began, by demanding back his Subjects, whom he had driven out of his Country by the Heat of his Perſecution: But the *Romans* were ſo far from delivering thoſe miſerable People into his Hands, that they declar'd War againſt him; and *Theodoſius* immediately rais'd an Army, conſtituting *Ardabarius* his General, who overthrew *Narſes*, Commander of the *Perſian* Army, in the Province of *Azazena*, ſlew a great multitude of his Men, and forc'd him to fly. *Narſes* thought to redeem his loſt Credit by invading the *Roman* Borders, which he hoped to effect on the Side of *Meſopotamia*, deſtitute at that time, and unprepar'd for a Defence: The *Roman* General was quickly ſenſible of his Motions, and therefore marched with all ſpeed into *Meſopotamia*, fruſtrated his Deſign, and beſieg'd him in *Niſibis*, at that time in the Hands of the *Perſians*. *Vararanes* having by this time receiv'd Intelligence of his General's Overthrow, and the Danger his Army and the City was in, made all the haſte he could to his Relief, calling into his Aſſiſtance *Alamundurus*, Prince of the *Saracens*, a haughty vainglorious Man, who promis'd the King not only to raiſe the Siege of *Niſibis*, but deliver the beautiful City of *Antioch* into his Hands. But his Attempts were no way anſwerable to his arrogant Promiſes, nor his Succeſs to either; for a Diſſention firſt roſe among his Men, and after that a Panick Fear ſeiz'd

A War with Perſia,

ſo

so violently upon 'em, that flying away in great Confusion at the very appearance of the *Romans*, they took the River *Euphrates*, where an hundred thousand of 'em are said to have perish'd. After which the *Romans* being inform'd the King was approaching with a great number of Elephants to relieve the Town, they rais'd the Siege, but in several Engagements which followed soon after got the Advantage, and very much weaken'd the Enemy; notwithstanding which, *Theodosius*, who had the Character rather of a good Prince than a great Emperor, was inclinable to Peace, and sent his Embassadors to Treat with *Vararanes* accordingly; but he being reinforced with a fresh Supply of Ten thousand Men, who call'd themselves *Immortals*, thought fit to try his Fortune once more before he listen'd to an Accommodation; but when he heard that all his bold *Immortals* were cut off by the *Romans*, he attended seriously to the Proposals of Peace, which was granted to him by *Theodosius*, upon Condition he put a stop to the Persecution he had rais'd against the Christians, and restored 'em to their Estates and Privileges. The Valour and Conduct of the *Roman* Generals in this War was very remarkable, but the Charity of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Amida*, was more extraordinary. The *Romans* had in this Town above seven thousand Prisoners, who must all have perish'd with Hunger had not this Bishop reliev'd 'em. He summon'd his Clergy together, and told 'em God was not so much serv'd by the Vessels of Gold or Silver, which the Piety of Devout Christians had dedicated to the use of their Church, but in Actions of Charity, Brotherly Love and Munificence, and that it would be a Deed worthy their Holy Profession to sell those Vessels, and apply the Mony to the Relief of such miserable Wretches that were now ready to perish

in which the Romans *have the better.*

The Charity of Acacius, *Bishop of* Amida.

among 'em. Hereupon, by the Approbation and Conſent of all his Clergy, he melted the Plate, converted it into Mony, with part of which he ranſom'd the Captives, and diſtributed the reſt among 'em for their Subſiſtance. The King of *Perſia* was ſo nearly affected with ſuch a tranſcendent Act of Charity, that he confeſs'd the *Romans* knew how to Conquer as well by their Liberality as the Power of their Arms, and earneſtly deſir'd to ſee the Biſhop that had ſo highly oblig'd 'em. *Acacius* receiv'd Orders from *Theodoſius* to ſatisfie his Curioſity, and by his Preſence encreas'd the great Opinion *Vararanes* had conceiv'd of him, who after that grew more mild and indulgent to the Chriſtians.

A. D. 422. *A War in* Spain.

In the mean time *Honorius* obſerving how much the *Goths* and *Vandals* had by their continual Wars weaken'd each other in *Spain*, thought their Diviſions gave him a fair Opportunity of recovering it to the *Roman* Empire, to which purpoſe he ſent two powerful Armies thither, one by Land under the Command of *Caſtinus*, and the other by Sea from *Africk* under the Command of *Boniface*, who was Governor in that Country. They were, without Contradiction, two of the moſt experienc'd Soldiers *Honorius* had in all his Dominions, and therefore he join'd 'em in Commiſſion, that they might with equal Power and Command promote his Service in *Spain*. At firſt there appear'd an happy Underſtanding and Unanimity between 'em, which produc'd Effects very advantagious to the Emperor's Intereſt and their own Reputation; for they got *Jovinus* and *Maximus* into their Hands, two of the late Uſurpers, who were ſtill aiming at Innovations; they worſted the Barbarians in ſeveral Encounters, and forc'd 'em almoſt to a Neceſſity of Submiſſion; but this friendly Correſpondence,

Fel-

Fellowship and Success, was interrupted by the haughty, arrogant Temper of *Castinus*, who valuing himself upon the Success of his Arms, began to despise *Boniface*, and claim a Precedency over him; but the other, who would by no means be persuaded to acknowledge him for his Superior, embark'd his Forces, and set Sail for *Africk*. This unseasonable Arrogance in *Castinus* prov'd very prejudicial to the Emperor's Affairs; for the *Vandals*, who by their united Forces were reduc'd to the last Extremity, upon this Division took Courage, engag'd *Castinus*, defeated him, and kill'd near twenty thousand of the *Romans*.

The Romans defeated.

Honorius receiv'd the News of this Defeat with much Concern, but did not live to punish his Generals, who by their untimely Disputes occasion'd it. From the time of *Constantius* his Death, *Honorius* had entertain'd his Sister *Placidia* with much Friendship and Affection, and the Communication was so close between 'em, that it gave ground to several scandalous Reflections, as if their mutual Love was more than what ought to pass between a Brother and Sister. But this Year some unfortunate Differences fell out betwixt 'em, and were improv'd to that degree, that *Placidia* with her two Children, *Valentinian* and *Honoria*, retir'd into the East, where she was kindly receiv'd by her Nephew *Theodosius*, tho' he had formerly refus'd to own *Constantius*, her Husband, for Emperor. *Honorius* was made to believe, by some about him, that his Sister held secret Correspondence with the *Goths*, who still look'd upon her as their Queen; that she betray'd all his Councils to 'em, and invited his Enemies into the Empire; whether this was the reason of his Dislike, or any other Provocation he had receiv'd, he contracted so great an Aversion to her, that he readily gave her leave to depart, but

A. D. 423.

Honorius *dies.*

fell ſick preſently after, and dy'd of a Dropſie on the Fifteenth of *Auguſt*, after he had lived thirty nine Years, of which he Reign'd two with his Father, and twenty eight Years and ſeven Months after his Deceaſe.

His Character.

The Hiſtorians of thoſe Times vary very much in the Character they have left us of him; for they who writ of the *Byzantine* Empire are very ſevere to his Memory, whereas thoſe who were his Cotemporaries highly commend him for his Zeal and Perſeverance in the Orthodox Faith, to which they attribute his Succeſs againſt the Barbarians and Uſurpers. He ſeldom or never appear'd himſelf at the Head of his Armies, but executed all by his Officers, by whom he may be ſaid to have extinguiſh'd more Rebellions than any Chriſtian Emperor whatſoever. They muſt all allow his Reign to have been very unfortunate, for in his Time *Rome* was firſt taken by the *Goths*; the *Hunns* invaded *Pannonia*, the *Alans*, *Suevi*, and *Vandals* broke into *Spain*, the *Burgundians* ſettl'd in *Gaul*, where the *Goths* alſo fixed themſelves at laſt. So many Enemies, with which the Empire was on all ſides aſſaulted, requir'd a Prince of more Activity upon the Throne than *Honorius*, who is accuſed by ſome of ſo ſupine a Negligence and invincible Stupidity, that when he firſt was told *Rome* was taken, he anſwer'd the Meſſengers, *'Twas very ſtrange, for he but that Moment had been playing with it*, ſuppoſing they meant a Game-Cock call'd *Rome*, in which he took great Delight.

II. *Honorius* left no Children behind him, nor deſign'd any for his Succeſſor at his Death. *Placidia* was abſent with her Son *Valentinian* in the Court of *Theodoſius*, ſo that the Imperial Purple ſeem'd to belong of Right to him who firſt laid hold upon it. This encourag'd one *John*, who from an ob-

John Uſurps.

obscure Beginning was first made Secretary to *Honorius*, and afterwards *Præfectus Prætorio*, to take upon him the Imperial Title, being encourag'd in it by *Castinus*, who was now return'd out of *Spain*, and design'd Consul for the Year following, whom he made General of his Armies, and *Ætius*, the Son of *Gaudentius*, a *Scythian*, who had been an Hostage with *Alarich* and the *Hunns*, and was now made great Master of the Palace by the Usurper. His first Care was to remove all those Magistrates he had reason to suspect, and supply their Places with others that were more affectionate to his Cause; he depriv'd the Church of several Privileges it had obtain'd from the Grace and Favour of former Emperors, and sent an Army into *Africk* to secure his Interest, and set up his Authority in those Parts, and then dispatch'd away his Embassadors, as he would have 'em call'd, to *Theodosius*, to desire he would own and declare him Emperor. *Theodosius* had before this receiv'd the News of his Uncle's Death, but thought not fit to discover it 'till he had secured the Borders of the Eastern Empire, by a sufficient number of Troops placed at *Solonæ* in *Dalmatia*; and tho' he had been inform'd of *John*'s Usurpation, he thought him a Man of no Interest, and did not much regard it; but when he found he had the Arrogance to send and make his Demands of him, he receiv'd the Messengers with much Indignation, and sent 'em back with a very unwelcome Answer, or, as some say, banish'd 'em into *Propontis*. *John*, no way discourag'd at *Theodosius* his Displeasure, sent *Ætius* into *Pannonia* with a great Sum of Gold to draw the *Hunns* over to his Assistance, with whose Commanders *Ætius* was intimate, who was farther order'd to fall upon the Rear of *Theodosius* his Troops if they march'd into *Italy*, whilst he himself charg'd 'em

in

in the Front. In the mean time *Valentinian* being declared *Cæsar* by *Theodosius*, who had conferr'd the Dignity of *Augusta* on his Mother *Placidia*, was arriv'd at *Salonæ*, attended by *Ardaburius*, who was made General of the War, and his Son *Aspar*, where it was resolved between 'em, that *Ardaburius* with part of the Forces should go by Sea and Besiege *John* in *Ravenna*, and that *Aspar*, with the rest of the Army, should convoy *Placidia* and *Valentinian* by Land thither. Hereupon the General set to Sea with a good Fleet, and was got just upon the Coasts of *Ravenna*, where he was going to land his Men, when a violent Storm arose that scatter'd his Fleet, and drove his own Vessel a-shoar, where he was taken by the Usurper's Soldiers, and carry'd into his Presence. *John*, who was highly elevated with a Victory that cost him nothing, and a Purchase he never dream'd of, knew *Ardaburius* to be a Man of such Consequence, that he hop'd *Theodosius* would for his sake condescend to his own Terms, and admit him for his Companion in the Empire; for which reason he treated him very honourable, and allow'd him the Liberty of the City, which he made his Prison. *Ardaburius* made good use of this Favour from the Usurper; some he found at *Ravenna*, who having been disoblig'd by him, were grown disaffected to his Government, with whom he took Care to ingratiate himself; and observing the Negligence and Security in which the Tyrant liv'd, he sent Intelligence of it to his Son *Aspar*, who was by this time got to *Aquileia*, which he surpriz'd and fortify'd; his Father advis'd him to advance speedily with his best Troops and seize on the City Gates, which stood open and unguarded; this Advice *Aspar* executed with that Success, that after a little Opposition he took *John*, and sent him away to *Placidia*, who us'd him with an Insolence incident to the Weakness of her Sex; for having cut

John *taken Prisoner.*

off

off his Right Hand, ſhe ſet him upon an Aſs, and had him led in Deriſion through the Streets of *Aquileia*, after which he was Beheaded. He was a Man, according to *Procopius*, of a mild Diſpoſition, and much Temper and Moderation in all his Affairs. Three Days after he had been taken Priſoner by *Aſpar*, *Ætius* arriv'd with an Army of Sixty thouſand *Hunns*, between whom and *Aſpar* began a very obſtinate Fight, 'till being inform'd of *John*'s Captivity he thought it adviſable to make the beſt Terms he could for himſelf. *Placidia* promis'd to receive him into Favour, upon Condition he ſent his *Hunns* home into the Country, and continu'd Obedient for the future; this he perform'd very honourably, and was afterwards ſerviceable to the Empire in a great many reſpects. After this *Valentinian* was declared Emperor, and *Placidia* Regent of the Empire during her Son's Minority. She began her Adminiſtration with venting her Fury upon the City of *Ravenna*, which ſhe ſuffer'd the Soldiers to pillage, and after ſhe had ſtripp'd *Caſtinus* of all his Employments, ſhe ſent him into Exile, and by this Severity forc'd him upon violent means for his own Safety and Support; ſo that inviting ſuch of the Army to him as had been lately Disbanded, or were willing to follow his Fortunes, and eſpouſe his Cauſe, he in a little time found himſelf in a Condition to begin new Diſturbances, and with a good Body of experienc'd reſolute Soldiers invaded *Africk*, out of which he hop'd he ſhould be able to drive his old Competitor *Boniface*, who notwithſtanding maintain'd his Poſt ſo well that *Caſtinus* was defeated and taken Priſoner. This piece of Service turn'd much to the Reputation of *Boniface*, and reviv'd an old Grudge *Ætius* had to him, who therefore by his cunning Inſinuations perſuaded *Placidia* that *Boniface* had preſerv'd *Africk* for himſelf, rather than the Empire; that he watch'd an Opportunity

Valentinian. A. D. 426.

Caſtinus *Invades Africk, and is taken Priſoner.*

to

to Revolt, and Eſtabliſh an Independent Sovereignty in thoſe Parts; that he held ſecret Correſpondence with the King of the *Vandals*, having marry'd one of that Prince's Relations; that the only way to prevent him was to Abdicate his Authority there, and recal him home. On the other ſide he writ to *Boniface*, and in his Letters pretended a great Friendſhip for him, told him he had been ſecretly accus'd of High-Treaſon; that therefore the Empreſs intended to recal him home, but he adviſ'd him by all means to conſult his own Safety, for if once he came within the Power of the preſent Government, the Danger would be unavoidable. Tho' *Boniface* was well aſſur'd of his own Innocence and Integrity, yet taking *Ætius* for a Man of Honour, and his faithful Friend, he refus'd to quit his Command, and began to put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence. *Placidia* was convinc'd by his Diſobedience to her Orders, that *Ætius* his Information was true, and therefore ſent *Mavortius*, *Galbio* and *Sinox* with a good Army into *Africk* to reduce him, and Treat him as an Enemy to the *Roman* Empire.

Boniface being inform'd of the Forces that were marching againſt him, ſhut himſelf up in *Carthage*, where he was reſolv'd to ſtand the Shock, and held out againſt the *Romans* ſo long, 'till the three Generals diſagreed among themſelves, and *Mavortius* and *Galbio* were kill'd by the Practices of *Sinox*, whether at the Procurement of *Boniface*, or to ſatisfie his own Ambition and Revenge, is not eaſily to be determin'd; however he did not long ſurvive 'em, but was diſpatch'd ſhortly after, and left *Boniface* a Victory without the loſs of one Man on his ſide. *Placidia*, hearing of the ill Succeſs of her three Generals, grew the more enrag'd, and reſolving to renew the War and puſh it on with more Vigour, ſhe rais'd freſh Forces, and made choice

of

of *Sigesvultes* to command 'em; whilst *Boniface* in the mean time concluded himself unable alone to oppose the Strength of the Empire, and therefore resolv'd to draw others into his Quarrel, and so applying himself to *Guntharius* and *Genserich*, Kings of the *Vandals* in *Spain*, he agreed to divide *Africk* between 'em, and accordingly the two Brothers embark'd with their Forces at the *Straits* of *Gibralter* and landed in *Africk*, where they made themselves Masters of the Country without any Resistance, executing that Vengeance upon the miserable Provincials, which their enormous Crimes had pull'd down upon their Heads.

The Vandals *call'd into* Africk.

Whilst *Italy* stood amaz'd at so unexpected a Revolution, and already gave *Africk* for lost, several of *Boniface* his Friends in *Rome* were deeply afflicted, when they beheld his Valour, with which he had often defended the Empire, was now turn'd against it; and wonder'd how a Man, who had given so many Instances of his Integrity, Honour and Loyalty, should, without any Provocation, be thus alter'd on a sudden, and contract a Friendship with the Enemies of his Country: They therefore made Application to *Placidia*, and obtain'd her Permission to go into *Africk*, and at *Carthage* met with *Boniface*, who, when they charged him with Treason and Rebellion, produced *Ætius* his Letters, by which he convinc'd 'em that he took up Arms in his own Defence. With these Letters they return'd to *Placidia*, who was sensible of *Ætius* his Treachery, but concealed her Indignation for the present, because *Ætius* was at the Head of a victorious Army in *Gaul*; where he had lately obtain'd many Advantages over the *Franks*. But to *Boniface* and his Friends she express'd her Resentments; she assured him by her Letters that she detested the Injury had been practised against him, and that for the future he

A. D. 428.

he might be assured of her Favour and Protection. She advis'd him to apply himself diligently to the Good and Safety of the Empire, and be as zealous in his Endeavours to remove the *Vandals* out of *Africk*, as he had been to call 'em in. *Boniface* readily undertook it, but found upon trial that it's easie to receive a powerful Enemy into a Country, but very difficult and often impossible to drive 'em out on't. He first attempted to remove 'em by the Promise of an immense Sum of Mony; when he found 'em deaf to that, he represented to 'em the Strength and Power of the *Roman* Empire; told 'em it was to be fear'd *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* would unite their Arms, and send such puissant Forces against 'em, as they would find it impossible for 'em to resist: But *Gunderich*, for his Brother was lately dead, was not to be moved either by his Threats or Promises. He is described, by the Writers of those Times, as a warlike Prince, of a low Stature, but Ambitious, capable of great Designs, wary in Contrivance, and vigorous in Execution; a Man of few Words, but weighty Sense; very expert at sowing Divisions among those he had a mind to weaken, and watchful upon all Opportunities, which he always husbanded to the best Advantage. *Boniface* perceiving he was not to be mov'd by fair means join'd with *Aspar*, who was lately arriv'd with a gallant Army out of *Italy*, and gave him Battel; in which the *Romans* were beaten, and great Numbers of 'em taken Prisoners, among whom was *Martian*, who was afterwards Emperor.

A.D. 430. *The* Vandals *conquer* Africk

Genserich meeting nothing to oppose him after this Victory in *Mauritania*, proceeded up into *Numidia* and the rest of *Africk*, destroying all the Country as he pass'd, and like an irresistible Flame devouring all before him; whilst *Boniface*, who had not Forces sufficient to make head against him, retired

tired into the fortified Towns with thoſe Troops that were able to join him. There were but three of theſe Towns that were not expoſed to the Fury of the Enemy, thoſe were *Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirtha*, all of 'em built upon the Sea, and well provided. Towards the latter end of the Year *Genſerich* came with his Army and ſate down before *Hippo*; *Boniface* had juſt before thrown himſelf into it with a good Body of Men, and made a very couragious Defence: But the King being reſolv'd to take it puſh'd on the Siege with great Vigour, and block'd it up both by Sea and Land. The Siege continu'd for fourteen Months together, and was manag'd with great Obſtinacy on both Sides; but at length, after the Garriſon had been quite ſpent with the Heat of the Service, and deſpair'd of any Relief, the Place was deliver'd up to the Mercy of the Barbarians, who put all they found to the Sword, pillag'd the Town, and deſtroy'd every thing of Value in it, except St. *Auſtin*'s Library, who dy'd a Month before the Town was taken. Hippo *taken.*

After the Loſs of this Town the *Vandals* grew more outragious than ever, committing ſuch barbarous Cruelties wherever they mov'd as ſurpaſs'd Imagination.

Theodoſius had ſome time before ſent *Aſpar* at the Head of a very powerful Army, to aſſiſt *Valentinian* in *Africk*; he was now join'd by *Boniface*, and with the united Forces both of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire endeavour'd to put an end to the Depredations of the victorious Barbarian; who fought and entirely defeated him, kill'd the very Flower of his Army, and forced the reſt to fly for their Safety up and down the Country. *Aſpar* with much ado return'd to *Conſtantinople*, and *Boniface* upon *Placidia*'s Invitation embark'd for *Italy*; where he challeng'd *Ætius*, fought him, and overcame him, A. D. 433.

but

but dy'd three Months after, and enjoin'd his Wife *Pelagia* upon his Death-Bed never to marry any other Man but *Ætius*: Who after his Overthrow was for some time asham'd to appear at Court, and therefore retired into *Pannonia*, where he became more familiar with the *Hunns*, and by degrees rais'd himself up to his former Reputation, being shortly after employ'd by *Valentinian* against the *Burgundians*, who had pass'd their Bounds and invaded *Gallia Belgica*, wasting the Country with Fire and Sword, 'till *Ætius* appear'd against 'em, and with his usual Courage and Success overthrew, and made 'em glad to return home.

A War with Persia *concluded by a single Combat.*

About this time a new War had like to have broken out between *Persia* and the Empire; for *Theodosius* observing the *Persians* crouded the Frontiers of the Empire with great numbers of Troops, sent *Bocopius* against 'em with a very strong Army. *Vararanes* finding himself too weak to give 'em Battle, propos'd to decide the Difference by a single Combat between two Champions chosen respectively out of each Party, and that that Side whose Champion was vanquish'd should pay Tribute to the other. *Theodosius* is said to have accepted of the Proposal, and made choice of *Arcobinda* or *Areovindus* for his Champion, who overcame the *Persian*, and was rewarded with the Consulship the Year following; and a Peace was concluded betwixt the *Romans* and the *Persians*, which was to last for fifty Years.

Some time after this a private Misfortune much afflicted the Court at *Ravenna*; where *Honoria*, Sister to the Emperor *Valentinian*, had stolen a great Belly. She first sent to *Attila*, King of the *Hunns*, and offer'd to marry him if he approved of the Match; but receiving no Answer agreeable to her Wishes, she prostituted her self to the Lust of one *Eugenius*, Steward of her Houshold, with whom she

she plotted against her Brother's Life and Dignity. The thing being discovered she was only sent away to *Constantinople*, there to be censur'd as *Theodosius* should think fit.

Whilst the Empire was thus afflicted by the cruel Insults of the Barbarians, the Church was no less assaulted by the Rise and Propagation of most damnable Heresies; it being observable, that Errors both in Doctrine and Discipline are never so fruitful, as in times of publick Calamities. *Nestorius* was at this time Bishop of *Constantinople*, to which he had been advanced by *Theodosius*, having been before a Priest at *Antioch*, where he had gain'd much Reputation for his Eloquence, Doctrine and Piety; but was naturally of a haughty seditious Temper, as he made it appear to the World after his Promotion. Tho' at first he prosecuted the *Arian* and *Novatian* Hereticks with so much Zeal, that *Constantinople* had like to have been in an Uproar, yet he shortly after publish'd his own pernicious Tenets, which created much Trouble in the Church, infected great Multitudes of People, and continues at this Day in a great measure throughout the East. He held *that it was not lawful to call the Virgin* Mary *the Mother of God, who could not be born; but the Mother of Jesus Christ, who after his Birth obtain'd, by vertue of his good Works, to be united to the Word, not by an Hypostatick or Personal Union, but by a Residential Union of the Word in the Humanity, as in a Temple*; so that it was no more than a communicative or moral Society. By this Doctrine he did not only assert two Natures in Jesus Christ, but two Persons, the Divine and Human, and so destroy'd the Mystery of the Incarnation. He did not at first venture to publish the Errors himself, but made *Anastatius*, a Priest he had brought with him from *Antioch*, broach 'em

Nestorius, *Bishop of* Constantinople.

His Heresie.

'em to the People, who were aſtoniſh'd at his blaſphemous Impieties. *Neſtorius*, inſtead of condemning ſuch pernicious Doctrines, as the Duty of his Office required him, boldly aſſerted and maintain'd 'em; openly denying to the Virgin *Mary* the Title of *The Mother of God*; and procured one *Dorotheus*, who had been lately depoſed from the See of *Marcianople*, to Anathematize from the Pulpit all thoſe who preſum'd to give her that Honour. Theſe Errors, which *Neſtorius* defended with much Obſtinacy, caus'd *Celeſtin* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, to ſummon a Synod each in his Diocеſs, where they were univerſally condemn'd, and *Neſtorius* depos'd, if within ten Days after the Signification of that Act of their reſpective Synods he did not recant and diſavow his Hereſie; but he was ſo far from a Recantation, that by his Artifices he rais'd Diviſions among the Orthodox Biſhops themſelves, and ſo far impos'd upon the Emperor *Theodoſius* that he eſpous'd his Intereſt, and reprov'd *Cyrill* as one that by his Calumnies diſturb'd the Unity of the Church. Theſe Practices made the Breach wider, and the Schiſm irreparable without the Intervention of a General Council, which therefore *Theodoſius* ſummoned to meet at *Epheſus*, where, inſtead of the Biſhop of *Rome*, *the Holy Scriptures* were placed in an eminent Throne, as a Guide to their future Controverſies; as appears from the firſt Act of the Council, and *Cyrill*'s Apology to *Theodoſius*. *Neſtorius* was cited to appear at the firſt Seſſion, and upon his Non-Appearance depos'd; the Sentence of his Depoſition, ſign'd by above two hundred Biſhops, was ſent to him, and publiſh'd in the City to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the People. And the Day following St. *Cyrill* in a Sermon gave the Virgin *Mary* ſuch Elogies, which tho' they were drawn from the concurring ſenſe of the Scriptures,

The Third General Council at Epheſus.

ptures, and favoured nothing of the Extravagances they now-a-days throw upon her, yet did they make the Church from that time forward honour her with a greater Zeal than it had ever done before.

Five Days after the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*, *John* Biſhop of *Antioch* arriv'd at *Epheſus* with thoſe of his Party, and being offended at what the Council had done without his Preſence and Conſent, he united himſelf with about thirty others, ſome of whom had been depoſed for their Crimes, and others were known openly to eſpouſe the Errors of *Pelagius*. Theſe Prelates aſſembled at his Lodgings, and calling themſelves a Synod or Council, depos'd *Cyrill* and *Memnon* of *Epheſus*, and pronounc'd a Sentence of Excommunication againſt all the Biſhops of the lawful Council, unleſs they reſtor'd the *Pelagians* who had been depos'd; and declared with them, that Adam's *Soul did not die for his Offence, and that Original Sin was not tranſmitted from Father to Son.* The Emperor at the beginning of the Council had appointed *Candidian*, Maſter of his Houſhold, to appear there on his behalf, and by his Authority to prevent any Diſorders, whereby the Fathers might be moleſted. *Candidian* had implicitly eſpous'd the Paſſion and Intereſt of *Neſtorius*, and therefore intercepted the Couriers that had been deputed to *Theodoſius* with the Proceedings of the Council, and Letters from the Fathers, and at the ſame time inform'd the Emperor that Matters were handled with much Heat in the Aſſembly, and that they had proceeded againſt *Neſtorius* with too much Precipitation: But he permitted the Anti-Council from time to time to tranſmit their Decrees to the Emperor; to accuſe *Cyrill* and others of Hereſie, and the Spirit of Revenge; and condemn every thing the Fathers had done: Whoſe Silence in the Matter

the Emperor interpreted as a Confeſſion of the Fact, and ſo gave Orders for the Impriſonment of St. *Cyrill* and *Memnon*; who were not releas'd 'till the Emperor ſome time after had been inform'd of the Truth in each particular; and then he diſſolv'd the Council, ſet the two Biſhops at liberty, and confirmed the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*. But whereas the Fathers had proceeded to depoſe *John* and his Adherents, the Emperor thought fit to ſuſpend the Ratification, for fear of exaſperating thoſe turbulent Spirits, and making 'em more averſe to an Union; which they were ſo far from embracing, that they proteſted they had rather die a thouſand times than partake of *Cyrill*'s Communion, or his Doctrine. As for *Neſtorius*, the Emperor permitted him to retire to his Monaſtery, that he might have the better Opportunity to acknowledge his Errors, and abjure 'em: But he was ſo far from acknowledging this Grace of *Theodoſius* towards him, that he perſiſted to poiſon the World with his Hereſie, both in his Diſcourſes and his Writings; for which reaſon he was baniſh'd four Years after into *Oaſis*, where, after his Tongue had been eaten out with Worms, he dy'd a miſerable Death; but in his Life-time rais'd a ſpiritual War againſt the Church, which has been continued to this very Day.

The Wars all this while were continued in *Gaul* and *Africk* with various Succeſs, the *Burgundians* had for ſome Years been oppoſing the *Roman* Arms, and put the Empire to a vaſt Expence; nothing but the Conduct and Reſolution of ſuch a General as *Ætius* was able to hinder 'em from breaking farther into the Empire, and involving the State in new Difficulties. This Year he obtain'd ſo many Advantages over 'em, that *Gundicarius* their King was glad to liſten to Reaſon, and agree to a Peace very honourable and advantagious to the *Romans*. At the

A. D. 435.

A Peace in Gaul *and* Africk.

the ſame time *Trigetius*, who had been ſent to ſucceed *Boniface* in *Africk*, forc'd *Genſerich*, King of the *Vandals*, to condeſcend to a Peace, upon Condition the *Romans* reſign'd up to him that part of *Africk* that lyes round *Hippo*, which was accordingly deliver'd up to 'em, and prov'd in the Conſequence highly prejudicial to the Empire. The Joy the People conceiv'd at theſe two Agreements was improv'd at *Rome*, where *Valentinian* celebrated his *Decennalia*, and publick Vows were made for the continuance of his Reign, which were reaſonably thought to have more of Form than Subſtance in 'em, he behaving himſelf already like a looſe, diſſolute Prince, regardleſs of the State, and abandon'd to his Pleaſures.

Peace being thus concluded between the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, the Empire ſeem'd to breath a little after the long Fatigues of War, and to put on a Face of Gaiety; for tho' *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths*, had, contrary to his Agreement with the *Romans*, broken out lately in *Gaul*, yet *Littorius*, with a Body of *Hunns*, watch'd him ſo narrowly that the Miſchief he did at preſent was inconſiderable, and his Attempts carry'd more of the Name of War with 'em than the Inconveniences of it, ſo that *Valentinian* had time to liſten to the Advice of thoſe who perſuadeed him to Marry *Eudoxia*, and for that purpoſe demanded her by his Embaſſadors of her Father *Theodoſius*, who inclin'd willingly to the Propoſal, and *Valentinian* himſelf went to fetch her from *Conſtantinople*, but was hardly return'd back to *Ravenna* before new Commotions interrupted the Solemnity of his Nuptials. For *Littorius*, who had hitherto commanded with much Succeſs againſt the *Goths*, preſum'd too much upon his good Fortune, and out of Emulation to *Ætius* was ſo far tranſported as to Beſiege *Tholouſe*, the Capital of the *Goths*, *New Troubles in Gaul.*

promiſing to himſelf, if he could once be Maſter of that Place, he ſhould be able with eaſe to drive the *Goths* out of the Country. *Theodorick* was at firſt ſo much frighten'd, that he ſent ſome Biſhops out to him with Offers of a Peace; but he truſting to the Promiſes and Encouragement he receiv'd from his *Pagan* Idols, would liſten to no Terms of Accommodation, but gave the *Goths* Battle, who fighting like Men in Deſpair, not only defeated his Army, and kill'd a great many of his Men, but took him Priſoner, and led him bound into that City as a Slave, where he not long before threaten'd to enter as a Conqueror, and where, by *Theodorick's* Command, he was put to an Ignominious Death. The *Goths* after this Defeat ravag'd up and down the Country without Control, and *Theodorick* advanc'd with his Army as far as the *Rhône*, thinking he now had an Opportunity to enlarge his Dominions. But *Valentinian*, as ſoon as he was inform'd of the loſs both of his General and his Army, diſpatch'd *Ætius* with all Expedition into *Gaul*, whoſe very Name was grown ſo terrible to the *Goths*, that without daring to appear in the Field againſt him they earneſtly deſir'd a Peace which was granted 'em upon the Mediation of *Avitus Præfectus Prætorio* of thoſe Parts, and kept the *Goths* in tolerable good Order for ſome Years after.

A. D. 439. *A new War in* Africk.

But whilſt *Ætius* was employ'd in the quenching the Flame in *Gaul*, a greater broke out in *Africk*, which prov'd of more weighty Conſequence to the Empire. *Genſerich*, who had concluded a Peace with the *Romans* about four Years before thought himſelf oblig'd to obſerve it no longer than it appear'd advantagious to his Intereſt, and ſerv'd to ſtrengthen and confirm his Pretenſions in *Africk*; ſo that not content with the Conqueſt he had already made, nor the vaſt Provinces that were

in his Poſſeſſion, he broke the Peace he had lately ſworn to, and after having rag'd with all imaginable Liberty throughout the Country, he ſet upon *Carthage*, which he well knew was weakly Garriſon'd, and took it on the 20th of *October*, before the Emperor could be inform'd of the Danger the City was in. He threw the Senators into Chains, and commanded the Inhabitants, upon Pain of Death, to diſcover to him all their Gold, their Silver, Jewels, and moſt valuable Moveables, and ſo made himſelf Maſter of the Riches of that wealthy City; from thence he paſs'd with a powerful Fleet into *Sicily*, where, meeting with little or no reſiſtance, he behav'd himſelf with his uſual Barbarity. Among his many other Severities, which he exercis'd without any remorſe upon the Orthodox Clergy, this was one which carry'd not the leaſt Terror with it. He forc'd *Quod-Vult-Deus*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, and a great part of his Clergy to be put naked on Board ſeveral Leaky Veſſels prepar'd for that purpoſe, and in that helpleſs Condition to be thruſt out to Sea, where, after they had for a long time been toſs'd up down by the violence of the Waves to their great Conſternation, and certain hazard of their Lives, they were all driven ſafe a-ſhoar near *Naples* in *Campania*. He left *Sicily* ſooner than he intended, upon an Information that *Sebaſtian*, Son of the late General *Boniface*, was arriv'd in *Africk* with a very ſtrong Army; this brought him back with all ſpeed to *Carthage*, for fear the *Romans* ſhould in his Abſence recover that City out of his Hands. But *Sebaſtian*, inſtead of behaving himſelf like a *Roman* General, and purſuing *Genſerich* as an Enemy to the Empire, ſate down idly in the Province, and enter'd into Terms of Accommodation with him. Hereupon *Genſerich*, who had a Mind to bind him firmer to his Inte-

reſt, endeavour'd by his Perſuaſions to make him turn *Arian*, which when he could by no means be prevail'd upon to do, he got him to be murder'd, either out of an Averſion he had to the Orthodox Faith, or becauſe he knew *Sebaſtian* was an experienc'd Commander, and was afraid he intended to circumvent him. This inſolent Demeanour in the King of the *Vandals* highly provok'd *Theodoſius*, who thought it time to provide againſt ſo prevailing an Enemy, and therefore Mann'd out a Fleet of Sixty Sail, on Board of which he order'd a good Army to Embark, and committed it to the Conduct of *Areobindas*, and two others, who were Commiſſion'd to land in *Africk*, and by all poſſible means endeavour to drive *Genſerich* out of it. Theſe Generals inſtead of following their Orders waſted a great deal of their time in *Sicily*, and then croſſing over into *Africk*, carry'd more Terror than Execution along with 'em; for without performing any great Matters they return'd back into *Scicily*. However their Expedition had this good Effect, that *Genſerich* perceiving what Power *Theodoſius* had, which at another time might be better manag'd, he ſent his Embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to Treat about a Peace, which *Theodoſius* was forc'd to conclude the Year following, for Reaſons that made that Year famous to Poſterity.

A. D. 442. *The* Hunns *Invade the Empire.*

The *Hunns*, who had formerly driven the *Alans*, *Goths* and *Vandals* out of their ancient Seats, and forc'd 'em to paſs over the *Rhine* and *Iſter* into the *Roman* Territories, began now to follow 'em; and taking the Advantage of the Wars the *Romans* were engag'd in with their Neighbours, eſpecially the *Vandals* in *Africk*, muſter'd all the Forces they could raiſe among the Inhabitants on the other ſide the *Euxine*, and with an Army, terribly prodigious for its Numbers, fell upon the Frontiers of the Em-

Empire, where they seiz'd on the Forts and Garrisons built formerly upon the Banks of the *Ister* for the Defence of it. Here the Army was divided into two Bodies, with one of which *Attila* their King invaded *Mysia*, and with the other his Brother *Bleda* fell upon *Thrace*, where, bearing down all Opposition before 'em, they rag'd in all Places with Fire and Sword, they took and surpriz'd many Cities, and among the rest *Naissus* and *Singidunum*, two Cities of *Mysia Prima*.

Theodosius was too sensible of the ill Consequence of such Irruptions, especially at a time when the Empire was so much weaken'd already, not to think of some timely Resistance, and stop 'em, if possible, in their first Motions; whereupon he sent two of his Generals, *Arnegistus* and *Joannes*, with a strong Army against 'em. *Arnegistus* engaged *Attila* near *Marcianople*, at the same time that *Joannes* fought *Bleda* in *Thrace*; and they both met with such Success that the Barbarians were worsted, and seem'd at first more desirous of returning than capable of proceeding forward; but the Fate of the Empire began now to press hard upon it, and its Ruin seem'd inevitable; for the two Generals, instead of pursuing the publick Interest, fell into private Quarrels between themselves, in which *Joannes* was kill'd by the Fraud of his jealous Antagonist.

The *Hunns* taking the Advantage of these untimely Dissentions pursu'd their Conquests, and seiz'd upon all the Cities in *Thrace*, except *Adrianople*; they enter'd into *Macedonia*, *Greece* and *Illyricum*, in all which Places they made such horrible Havock as they never felt before. Being not only sworn Enemies to Christianity, but even to Civility, and the Knowledge of the true God; they exceeded the *Goths* and *Vandals* in their barbarous Cruelties, and when ever the *Romans* had

the

the Courage to Face 'em, they ſeem'd rather to harden and provoke, than repel or diſtreſs 'em. This reduc'd *Theodoſius* to the laſt extremity, and tho' he had formerly reſolv'd never to let *Genſerich* poſſeſs a Foot in *Africk*, but by main Force to drive him out, yet being now preſs'd by a nearer Calamity, and unable to contend with two Enemies at once, he was perſuaded to liſten to the Overtures made by the *Vandals*, and granted 'em better Terms than they could otherwiſe have deſir'd or expected. For *Genſerich*'s Affairs at home were in a great Confuſion; his inſufferable Inſolence, which he had contracted from the long Courſe of his Succeſs, had ſo incens'd his Subjects, that they conſpir'd againſt him, and when his Vigilance had diſcover'd and prevented the Plot, he us'd both the Innocent and Guilty with ſo much bloody ſeverity, that he could not have been more weaken'd by a Defeat in Battel. Theſe Domeſtick Diſaſters made him ſollicite a Peace both at *Conſtantinople* and *Ravenna*, which *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, for the Reaſons above mention'd, readily granted. The Emperors, more for State than any other Conſideration, reſerv'd ſome ruin'd Provinces to themſelves, and left the *Vandals* the quiet Poſſeſſion of the reſt of *Africk*, upon Condition he paid a Tribute to the Emperor for three Years together, and deliver'd his Son *Honoric* up to *Valentinian* as a Pledge and Aſſurance of his Faith, which he had ſo often violated.

Peace with the Vandals.

III. The Peace being concluded, *Theodoſius* recall'd his Army out of *Sicily*, to be employ'd under the Conduct of *Areobindas* and *Aſpar* againſt the *Hunns*, who were now got ſo far into the Country that all Oppoſition ſeem'd to come too late; ſo that *Theodoſius* was forc'd, to the great prejudice of his Repu-

Reputation, to try the Power of his Gold, when he found the Force of his Steel ineffectual. He sent his Embassadors to *Attila* to Treat about a Peace, which he offer'd to purchase at the price of Six thousand Pounds of Gold to be paid in Hand, and an Annual Pension of Five hundred, or as some say, a Thousand more, provided he would instantly retreat, and confine himself and his Subjects within his own Bounds. The Proposals seem'd so fair that *Attila* found no reason to reject 'em, so that upon Payment of the Mony he prepar'd to be gone, enrich'd not only with so vast a Sum, but infinite other Treasure, and an hundred and twenty thousand Captives, leaving *Illyricum* in a much worse Condition than ever it had felt before, tho' frequently subject to such Calamities; as an Aggravation to which, so dreadful a Snow fell this Year, and lay so long on the barren Ground, which the Barbarians had burnt up and wasted, that not only great quantities of Cattle, but multitudes of Men, Women and Children perish'd for want of the Conveniences of Habitations and Fuel, of which the Savage *Hunns* had depriv'd 'em; at the same time happen'd an Earth-quake at *Rome*, which overthrew several Buildings both publick and private. These Accidents were look'd on as prodigious, and seem'd to forerun that mighty Storm, which, tho' quell'd for the present, broke in shortly after, and like an Hurricane tore up both the Eastern and Western Provinces.

D. D. 443. Theodosius *buys a Peace of the* Hunns.

In this Interval *Theodosius*, as if he foresaw the ensuing Calamities, reinforc'd and fortify'd the Borders, and by several Acts of State and publick Edicts put himself into the best Condition of Defence his Affairs would admit of; for at present the Empire enjoy'd a Tranquility both in the Eastern and Western Provinces, greater than any it had

had known for a long time before; it look'd like a Calm preſaging the Tempeſt that was to follow, for except ſome Motions of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, who were eaſily reduc'd by *Ætius*, we hear of nothing that diſturb'd the Publick Peace, 'till it was broken again by *Attila*. However *Theodoſius* met with ſome Diſturbances in his private Family, that gave him as much trouble almoſt as a War would have done; his Siſter *Pulcheria* had hitherto aſſiſted him at the Helm of State, and by her Care, Vigilance and Sagacity eas'd the Burden of the Empire, that would otherwiſe have lain heavy upon his Shoulder. *Chryſaphius* the Eunuch, and great Favourite of the Emperor, was highly diſpleas'd with *Flavianus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and very deſirous to have him remov'd, but knew all his Attempts would be ineffectual whilſt *Pulcheria* continu'd in Power, whom therefore he labour'd to involve in ſome Difficulties; accordingly he endeavour'd to raiſe a Jealouſie and Emulation between her and the Empreſs *Eudocia*, whom he perſuaded to remove from *Pulcheria* the Steward of her Houſhold, who manag'd all her Concerns; this *Eudocia* try'd all means with her Husband to effect, but *Theodoſius* was reſolv'd againſt it, nor would he ſo far diſoblige his Siſter, to whoſe prudent Management he was ſo much indebted. But at length ſhe prevail'd ſo far that the Emperor requir'd *Flavianus* to make her a Deaconeſs; for as they often in thoſe Parts drew great Men by force to Biſhopricks, ſo the Biſhops themſelves very often made choice of Ladies of more exalted Virtue and Honour than the reſt of their Sex, and by force ordain'd 'em Deaconeſſes of the Church. *Flavianus* knew not how to diſobey the Emperor's Order, but admoniſh'd *Pulcheria* of it, and advis'd her to avoid him, leſt he ſhould be forc'd againſt his

Pulcheria remov'd from Court.

his Will upon a very ungrateful Office. *Pulcheria* was no sooner inform'd of it, but she voluntarily retired from the Administration, and led a private Life in the Country. From this we may form a lively Image of Court Intrigues, where its very often the Business of one Courtier to supplant another, because he thinks he is in a better Post than himself. They who have a mind to absolve *Eudocia* from the Sin of Ingratitude to *Pulcheria*, to whom she ow'd her Greatness, give another Reason for the Emperor's Displeasure, and affirm *Pulcheria* ow'd her Disgrace to none but her self. They tell us, that upon Observation of the Emperor's Easiness in signing whatever Papers were offer'd him, without ever examining the Contents of 'em, she thought to convince him of his Folly, by representing to him how dangerous it might one Day prove in the Consequence; she one day presented him with a Paper in which he sold his Wife as a Slave to *Pulcheria*, which he sign'd, as usual, without ever reading the Substance of it: Some time after she detain'd *Eudocia* as she came to visit her, and when the Emperor himself came to demand her, she told him that she having bought her of him he had no Right in her, and thereupon produced the Contract. *Theodosius* was so distasted at this home Reproof, that, like other Princes who are fond of Flattery but averse to Reprehension, he ever after that entertain'd a Prejudice to her, which its more than probable his Wife took care to aggravate, the better to re-ingratiate her self with him; for she had lately been in Disgrace, and that upon an Occasion which may serve to shew us how cautious Persons in an high Sphere ought to move. Some Person had presented *Theodosius* with a Fruit, admirable for its Largeness and Beauty; this he sent as a Rarity to *Eudocia*, who made a Present of it to *Paulinus*, with whom she

ſhe was ſo intimately acquainted upon the Account of his great Learning, that her Familiarity with him gave occaſion to ſome ſcandalous Reflections. He, ignorant from whence the Empreſs had receiv'd it, carry'd it to *Theodoſius* as a thing new and ſingular, and *Theodoſius* preſently after ask'd his Wife what was become it; ſhe, for fear of diſpleaſing him, anſwer'd ſhe had eaten it, whereupon *Theodoſius* producing the Fruit convicted her of Falſhood; order'd *Paulinus* to be put to death, and for ſome time was alienated in his Mind from the Empreſs.

Eudocia, the Empreſs, in Diſgrace.

Pulcheria being remov'd from the Adminiſtration, *Chryſaphius* thought he might now with eaſe work *Flavian*'s Ruin, and was ſhortly after preſented with a fair Opportunity of effecting it. *Eutyches*, an Abbot of a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople*, had very vigorouſly oppos'd *Neſtorius* his Hereſie, but, as it often happens in the like Caſes, fell out of one Extream into another: For whereas *Neſtorius* deny'd the Hypoſtatick Union in Jeſus Chriſt, *Eutyches* deny'd the Diſtinction of the two Natures, confounding the one in the other. This Doctrine was immediately condemn'd in a Synod at *Conſtantinople*, where *Eutyches* was ſummon'd to appear, but refus'd to ſtir out of his Monaſtery; tho' he preſently after apply'd himſelf to *Chryſaphius*, whoſe Relation he was, and who was now the great Favourite of *Theodoſius*. *Chryſaphius* perſuaded the Emperor to ſummon the Second Council of *Epheſus*, where by the Activity of *Dioſcorus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the *Eutychian* Hereſie was approv'd, and *Flavian*, who had got it to be condemn'd in the Synod, was not only depos'd but moſt barbarouſly abus'd at *Epheſus*, and baniſh'd into *Lydia*, where he dy'd of his Wounds in a ſhort time after, and is commemorated as one of the Martyrs of the *Greek* Church. This Violence and Injuſtice againſt *Flavian* demonſtrates to us the Corruption

ruption of the Biſhops that compos'd that Council, and that the Ancients upon good Grounds call'd it *an Aſſembly of Thieves.*

Attila, who had hitherto obſerv'd the Peace concluded with the Empire, did now again declare War againſt *Theodoſius*, becauſe the Tribute he was to have receiv'd by the Articles of Peace had not been punctually paid him; and taking the Advantage of a great Froſt, which had frozen up the *Danube*, he paſs'd his Army over, and waſted *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*. *Theodoſius* ſent *Anthemius* and *Arnegiſtus* to oppoſe him, who did great Service to the Empire; eſpecially *Anthemius*, who was afterwards Emperor of the Weſt, finding the Barbarians diſpers'd up and down the Country, and intent upon the Pillage, he ſet upon 'em at ſeveral times, deſtroy'd a great number of them, and conſtrain'd the reſt to unite themſelves into one Body near *Sardica*, where he gave 'em Battel; and tho' *Arnegiſtus* at the beginning of the Engagement abandon'd his Collegue and deſerted to the Enemy, yet he got an entire Victory, and oblig'd 'em to ſue for a Peace, which he granted upon Condition they hung up the Traitor *Arnegiſtus*, who accordingly fell a Sacrifice to Juſtice, and the Peace was ratify'd both by *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*. A.D. 447.

Some time after this the Weſtern Empire ſuffer'd a great Loſs in the Death of *Galla Placidia*, *Valentinian*'s Mother, a Princeſs of great Prudence, who had been toſs'd to and fro in the World, and run through ſeveral Changes of Fortune. She had the chief Management in the Affairs of State, not only during her Son's Minority, but afterwards when he arriv'd to a Ripeneſs of Years; for he was of himſelf an effeminate voluptuous Prince, reſigning himſelf up entirely to the Government of thoſe that were near his Perſon: His Mother, whilſt ſhe liv'd, reſtrain'd him in a great meaſure by her Au-

Placidia Dies.

thority and good Counsel; but as soon as she was dead the Depravity of his Nature appear'd visible to the World, who thereby grew sensible how beneficial *Placidia* had been to the Empire. And as *Valentinian* was miss-led by Parasites and evil Counsellors in the West, so was *Theodosius* abus'd by the Artifices of his Favourite *Chrysaphius* in the East, where he ruled with an unlimited Authority, tyrannizing in a particular manner over the Clergy. His villainous Practices provoked *Pulcheria* to quit her Solitude and return again to Court, where she made it appear to *Theodosius*, that *Eutyches* was an infamous Heretick; that *Chrysaphius* had supported him out of Malice to *Flavian*; and had abus'd his Bounty in many respects. Hereupon *Theodosius* turn'd him out of all his Employments, confiscated his Estate, and banish'd him. This was thought too mild a Proceeding against one, who had not only most shamefully abus'd the Favour of his Prince, but troubled the Repose of the Church, and horribly persecuted her faithful Pastors. *Theodosius* at the same time severely reproved his Wife *Eudocia*, for concurring with *Chrysaphius* in his Intrigues, and procuring a Disagreement between him and his Sister *Pulcheria*, reproaching her besides for her private Correspondence with *Paulinus*, and appear'd so displeas'd at her, that to avoid his Indignation she got leave to visit the Holy Places at *Jerusalem*, where she led a very devout retired Life. After this publick Justice done to the great Satisfaction of his Subjects, and a Desire to repair the Injuries done to the Church by the late Council at *Ephesus*, *Theodosius* dy'd on the twenty ninth of *July* at *Constantinople*, in the fiftieth Year of his Age, and forty third of his Reign. Historians are not agreed upon the manner of his Death; some say he dy'd of Sickness, and particularly of the Plague; others, that

Pulcheria returns again to Court.

that he fell off from his Horſe whilſt he was a Hunting, and dy'd the Night following.

He was a Prince exemplary for his Piety; and a great Friend to the Church; but he was of a weak Spirit, and too much guided by thoſe that were about him. Whilſt he ſuffer'd himſelf to be directed by his Siſter *Pulcheria* the Adminiſtration was blameleſs, which indeed redounded more to her Reputation than his own; but he lay too open to the Practices of intriguing Courtiers, who often perſuaded him to Actions unjuſt and unwarrantable. He was ſo far from revenging any Injury offered him, that it's ſaid of him he never was ſeen to be angry. As he reſign'd the Civil Affairs up to the Government of his Siſter and chief Miniſters, ſo did he manage all his Wars by his Generals, addicting himſelf wholly to his Devotions and Recreations. *Theodoſius* dy'd in the ſeventh Conſulate of *Valentinian* and of *Avienus*, in the 1202d Year of *Rome*, *An. Dom.* 450. *His Character.*

Immediately upon the Death of *Theodoſius Pulcheria* got *Martian* to be declared Emperor by the Senate; to which the Officers in the Army afterwards conſented. She thought the readieſt way to continue both him and her ſelf in the Authority was to marry him, which ſhe did, but continu'd a Virgin 'till her Death notwithſtanding, as we are told by *Evagrius*. *Martian* was by Birth a *Thracian*, and being the Son of a Soldier he always follow'd the Wars: It happen'd, as he was going in his Youth to liſt himſelf at *Philippopolis*, he found a Man that had been lately kill'd lying upon the Road; being ſurpriz'd at the Sight, he deferr'd his Journey 'till he could conveniently bury the Corps: But ſome who came by, and obſerv'd what he was doing, preferr'd an Information againſt him to the Magiſtrates of *Philippopolis*, by whoſe Order he was ap- A. D. 450. Martian.

prehended, indicted, and condemn'd for the Murder; but as they were ready to lead him out to Execution the true Author of the Fact was discover'd and convicted, and *Martian* was left at liberty to follow his Inclinations, which led him to the Wars. *Evagrius* relates several Passages of him, which he saith portended the Imperial Dignity: *Martian* serving in *Africk* against the *Vandals* was taken Prisoner, as we observ'd before, with several others, in that Battle which *Aspar* lost to *Genserich*, and was order'd to be brought with the rest into a Field, where the King might have the Opportunity of viewing 'em, and where *Martian* was fallen fast asleep before the King's Arrival, who coming at last to visit the Prisoners, observ'd an Eagle hovering over *Martian* whilst he slept, to protect him with her Wings from the Heat of the Sun, which in that Country, and at that Season of the Year was very intense. Upon this Sight he conjectur'd what in the Course of Time was to befal him, and therefore upon a Promise given him, that when he came to be Emperor he would never wage War with the *Vandals*, he gave him his Liberty; which Promise he religiously observ'd after his Promotion.

Three Days after his Establishment he publish'd a severe Law against such Clerks and Monks as quitted the Orthodox Religion, and follow'd *Eutyches* his damnable Doctrine. He restor'd all those Bishops that had been depos'd by the Council at *Ephesus*, recall'd all that had been banish'd, and re-e-

Martian summons the Fourth General Council,

stablish'd 'em in their several Dioceses; and the Year following this Emperor summon'd the fourth General Council, which was to be celebrated at *Nice*, but by an Order from the Emperor was transferr'd to *Calcedon*, where *Dioscorus* was depos'd, together with all those that had espous'd *Eutyches* and his Heresie.

This

This Year *Valentinian*, or his Miniſters, were buſily employ'd in warlike Preparations, and the Defence of the Empire, which was threaten'd by *Attila*; who obſerving *Valentinian* to be a vitious unactive Prince, regardleſs of the Publick, and devoted to his ſenſual Pleaſures, thought it no difficult matter to poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire; eſpecially having at preſent an Army on foot conſiſting of no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand Men, rais'd promiſcuouſly out of *Tartary*, *Poland*, *Germany*, and *Muſcovy*. The Writers of thoſe Times have aim'd at ſeveral Reaſons, or rather Conjectures, for this War, and why *Attila* choſe to begin in *Gaul* ſooner than other Parts of the Empire adjoining nearer to him. *Jornandes* ſaith, that *Honric*, Son of *Genſerich*, having marry'd the Daughter of *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, upon ſome Suſpicion that ſhe had a Deſign to poiſon him cut off her Noſe, and ſent her home to her Father; that *Genſerich* apprehending upon good grounds *Theodorich* would reſent ſo barbarous an Injury, endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf by an Alliance with *Attila*, and accordingly ſent great preſents to him, deſiring him to invade *Theodorich*, and promiſing to join him with a very ſtrong Army. *Attila*, who was intent upon nothing but his own Advantage, embraced the Opportunity; and that he might firſt divide thoſe he intended to deſtroy, he ſent his Embaſſadors to *Valentinian*, conjuring him by no means to aſſiſt *Theodorich*, and aſſuring him at the ſame time that all his Deſigns were upon him: On the other hand, he made *Theodorich* believe all his Preparations were againſt the *Romans*, and adviſ'd him not to intermeddle in the Quarrel. Theſe crafty Practices in the fraudulent King were diſcover'd by the noble *Ætius*, who foreſeeing what a mighty Storm was ready to diſcharge it ſelf upon the Subjects of the

Empire, prevail'd with *Theodorich*, and his Son *Thorismond*, to suſpend for the preſent their particular Quarrels to the Empire, and by an Union with it oppoſe the furious Torrent, which ſeem'd to threaten both alike. In the mean time *Attila* was marching at the Head of his numerous Forces out of *Scythia* into *Gemany* in the very midſt of Winter, encouraging the People as he march'd along to throw off their Obedience to the *Roman* Empire, and joining with him have their ſhare in the Spoils of *Gaul*; and by this means rais'd ſo powerful an Army, as ſeem'd deſign'd not only for the Deſtruction of *Gaul*, but the whole Earth. When he was advanc'd as far as the *Rhine*, he built ſo many Boats for the Tranſportation of his Forces that the vaſt *Hercinian* Foreſt ſeem'd unable to ſupply him with a ſufficient quantity of Timber. Having paſs'd the River, he took and pillaged *Cologn*, *Tongri*, and *Mets*; from thence he paſs'd on to *Arras*, which met with the like Treatment, for wherever he came he put all to Fire and Sword, and ſo grew amazingly terrible to all Mankind: He order'd himſelf to be call'd *The Scourge of God*, and as ſuch he behav'd himſelf, the Inſtrument of Divine Wrath, and a publick Plague to the reſt of Mankind.

Attila *invades* Gaul.

Ætius being inform'd of the Barbarian's Progreſs, muſtered his Forces at *Arles*, as well thoſe of the Empire, as the Confederates under *Theodorich* King of the Weſtern *Goths*, *Meroveus* of the *Franks*, *Sangiban* and *Gundicarius* Kings of the *Alani* and *Burgundians*, between whom at preſent *Gaul* was divided. *Anian*, Biſhop of *Orleance*, hearing of *Attila*'s Approach towards that City, went ſpeedily to *Ætius*, to acquaint him with the dangerous Condition the City would be in without a timely Relief, and was ſent back with the Promiſe of a ſpeedy Succour by *Ætius*: He was hardly return'd before *Attila*

tila laid Siege to the City with his whole Army, battering it on every ſide with his Warlike Engines; but here his Arms firſt met with a check, for *Ætius*, *Theodorick*, and *Thoriſmond* arriving forc'd him to raiſe the Siege, tho' ſome ſay he broke into the City, but upon the approach of the Confederates was forc'd to retire, before he had time to pillage it, to the *Campi Catalaunici*, or Plains of *Chalons*, angry and enrag'd at his Diſappointment, and there he reſolv'd to provoke *Ætius* to Fight, whom he had already conquer'd in Imagination, depending upon the Multitude of his Forces. *Ætius*, who was as willing to engage as *Attila*, ſoon preſented himſelf, and ſtood prepar'd for a bloody Battel; he was at firſt in a great ſuſpence, and ſuſpected the King of the *Alans*, who he was inform'd had an Intent to Deſert the *Romans* in the Fight, and run over to *Attila*; having therefore made a treble Diviſion of his Forces, he plac'd him in the midſt; the Right Wing he committed to *Theodorick* and his Son *Thoriſmond*, the Left he commanded himſelf, and both in the Front and Rear he diſpos'd the moſt Valiant of the *Roman* Legions, the better to oblige the reſt to fight. The Fight was very obſtinate and bloody on both ſides, continuing from Noon 'till Midnight; at which time neither Party yielded, but were rather parted by the Inconvenience of the Night; and *Attila* ſounding a Retreat retir'd behind a Rampart he had formerly made, and left *Ætius* Maſter of the Field, who poſted his Men in the beſt manner he could 'till the Morning, for fear the Enemy ſhould take any Advantage, and ſnatch that Victory out of his Hands which he began already to think himſelf ſecure of, and was the next Morning aſſur'd of his Succeſs. *Attila* is ſaid to have loſt in the Battel no leſs than one hundred and ſeventy thouſand Men. On the

He lays Siege to Orleance,

and raiſes the Siege.

Ætius *engages him,*

and beats him.

Romans ſide *Gundicarius*, King of the *Burgundians*, and *Theodorick* was Slain, at which his Son *Thoriſmond* was ſo enrag'd, that he reſolv'd inſtantly to Attack *Attila* in his Camp, and revenge his Father's Death; but *Ætius*, who was ſenſible of the Strength and aſpiring Genius of the *Goths*, was afraid if the *Hunns* ſhould be totally overthrown, that then they would turn their Forces againſt the Empire, and therefore in Policy choſe to let him eſcape at preſent, that he might awe the *Goths* and *Franks*, and divert 'em from any dangerous Attempts upon the Empire; whereupon, after he had given *Thoriſmond* large Commendations for his extraordinary Valour, he advis'd him with ſpeed to go and take Poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions both in *Gaul* and *Spain*, before his Neighbours had time to raiſe him any Diſturbance there. *Thoriſmond* approv'd of his Advice, and ſo deferr'd his Revenge to another Opportunity. This Proceeding of *Ætius* towards *Attila* was very much blam'd by ſome, and gave others an opportunity of repreſenting him as a dangerous Perſon to *Valentinian*, and one that had a Deſign of making himſelf Emperor; to which end he held private Correſpondence with *Attila*, whom he forbore to deſtroy when he had him in his Power, and ſuffer'd him to eſcape, to bring more Miſchief upon the Empire. Theſe Suggeſtions, how ill ſoever they were grounded, prov'd in time the Ruin both of *Valentinian* and *Ætius*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

A. D. 452. *Attila* having been beaten in *Gaul* retir'd with his Troops into *Pannonia*, which was now become the Seat of the *Hunns*, part of it being call'd from them *Hungaria*; here having refreſh'd his Army, and reinforc'd it to that degree that it was far more numerous than the Year before, he reſolv'd now to Invade *Italy* it ſelf, which was more plentiful than any of the Provinces, and where he thought he ſhould

ſhould meet with no *Goths*, *Alans*, *Franks* or *Burgundians*, who in Confederacy with the *Romans* could oppoſe his Arms. The News of his Deſigns and Preparations were no ſooner known in *Italy*, but the People were in a greater Conſternation than at the Expeditions of *Alarich* and *Radagaiſus*; for they conſider'd *Attila* as a Barbarian, more fierce and ſavage than either of the former, who profeſs'd himſelf delighted in Deſtruction, and rejoic'd at the Calamities he brought upon his Fellow Creatures. At the ſame time there was a Report of ſeveral new Prodigies, particularly of three great Stones that fell from Heaven; beſides *Italy* had been lately afflicted by a great Dearth, which was attended by a grievous Peſtilence, Calamities terrible enough in themſelves, without the Aggravation of any other Miſchiefs.

Attila *Invades* Italy.

Attila having paſs'd the *Danube* towards the end of Winter, and repuls'd the Garriſons plac'd by *Valentinian* for the Defence of the *Julian Alps*, enter'd into *Friuli* and *Iſtria*; and the Inhabitants of *Venetia*, who expected the firſt Violence of the Storm, betook themſelves to the Iſlands and inacceſſible Marſhes of the *Adriatick*, upon the firſt terrible noiſe of *Attila*'s Preparations; here they laid the Foundations of the City, call'd from the Name of the Country *Venice*, which exceedingly encreas'd by the Deſtruction of *Aquileia*, and the other Neighbouring Cities which felt the Fury of *Attila*'s Arms, and is at preſent one of the moſt glorious Common-wealths in Chriſtendom, or perhaps in the World.

The firſt Foundation of Venice.

Attila *Beſieges* Aquileia.

Valentinian had fortify'd *Aquileia*, the Metropolis of *Venetia*, a ſtrong Town, deſign'd to protect the Borders of *Italy* from the Incurſions of the Barbarians. This Place *Attila* Beſieg'd, and batter'd it furiouſly for the ſpace of three Months together; but the Beſieg'd defended them-

themſelves with ſo much Bravery, that the Barbarians were ready to Mutiny, and murmur'd at the King for ſpending his Time, and the Strength of his Army in a Siege, where they got nothing but Blows to encourage them; whereupon *Attila* had thoughts of raiſing it, but was prevented by an Omen, which gave him freſh Encouragement; for he obſerv'd a Stork, that had built her Neſt upon the top of a great Tower in the City, to take her young ones and fly with 'em far off into the Country. This he ſhow'd to his Army, and told 'em what the Stork did was by Inſtinct, and a natural Foreſight, that ſhe could expect no more Safety in a City that was going to be taken by a Victorious Enemy; he adviſ'd 'em therefore not to be wanting to themſelves, but patiently expect the Poſſeſſion of what was due to their unweary'd Labours. This Speech ſo inflam'd his Men that they once more apply'd their Engines to the Walls,

and takes it. and after a very vigorous Aſſault took the City; tho' ſome ſay it had been firſt deſerted by the Inhabitants, who taking the Advantage of a dark Night eſcap'd by Sea with their Biſhop *Nicetas*. The better to amuſe the Enemy, and gain time for their Retreat, they plac'd certain Wooden Statues upon the Walls, which were to paſs upon the Barbarians for Soldiers put there to guard 'em: The *Hunns* were not ſenſible of the Stratagem 'till they obſerv'd ſeveral Birds to perch unmoleſted upon 'em, and then they ſcal'd the Town, took it without any Reſiſtance, pillag'd it for ſeveral Days together, kill'd all the Men that had been left behind, and raviſh'd the Women, deſigning by this barbarous piece of Severity to ſtrike an Awe into the reſt, and terrifie 'em into Submiſſion. This made the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Cities quit their Dwellings, by which means all the Towns there-

thereabouts fell into the Hands of *Attila*, who inſtead of marching on towards *Rome*, declin'd towards the Right, and fell upon *Treviſa*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Breſcio* and *Bergamo*, all which ſhared in the Fate of *Aquileia*; towards Winter he paſs'd the *Po*, and proceeded with the like Barbarity againſt *Placentia*, *Parma*, and other Places, ſo that all that Tract of Land, which lyes between the *Alps* and the *Appennine*, was reduc'd to Aſhes. *Ætius* had by this time rais'd a very formidable Army, and having quitted *Rome* was now upon the Borders of *Æmilia*, ready to oppoſe *Attila*; this Conſideration made the Barbarian liſten more readily to the Advice of his Commanders, who were loaden with the Riches of *Italy*, and were deſirous of enjoying it peaceably at home in their own Countries, rather than run the hazard of loſing all again by engaging with *Ætius*, who in ſeveral Skirmiſhes had already cut off ſome of their advanc'd Guards. For this reaſon they remonſtrated to *Attila*, "That he had done enough for the "preſent, and ought to defer the Deſign he had up-"on *Rome* 'till ſome other time; for that *Ætius*, a "brave experienc'd Commander, was ready at the "Head of a powerful Army to ſtop his March, "ſhould he direct it towards that City; that he "ought to remember the bloody Defeat he met with "two Years before in *Gaul*, and not run the hazard "of the like Diſaſter in *Italy*, but rather reflect on "the Fate of *Alarich*, who liv'd but a little while "after he had taken and plunder'd that City. Theſe Conſiderations made him turn back towards the *Po*, where *Leo*, Biſhop of *Rome*, came to him in an Embaſſy from *Valentinian*, and reaſon'd with ſo much Courage, Gravity and Eloquence, that he both ſurpriz'd and mollify'd him, and perſuaded him to return over the *Danube*, upon Promiſe of an

He returns back over the Danube.

an Annual Tribute; tho' upon his Departure he threaten'd to afflict *Italy* more heavily than ever, unless they sent him *Honoria*, Sister to the Emperor *Valentinian*, who is said to have invited him to this War, hoping to draw some particular Advantage to her self out of it, chusing rather to sacrifice the Publick Peace and Safety to her private Lust, than live in that Restraint, which for the Reputation of the Court she was continu'd under.

A. D. 453. The next Year *Attila*, as if he disdain'd either to be at ease himself, or indulge it to others, fell with his usual Fury upon the *Alans* in *Gaul*; but *Thorismond* concluding himself concern'd in his Neighbours Calamities, join'd his Troops with the *Alans*, fought, defeated and sent him ingloriously home; where Marrying himself to a beautiful Virgin, call'd *Hildico*, or *Indicto*, he drunk so much Wine upon his Wedding Night, that he was suffocated in his Bed by a great Effusion of Blood which usually issu'd out at his Nose; but being hinder'd of that Passage, whilst he lay bury'd in Wine and Sleep, pour'd it self down into his Throat and choak'd him. After his Death a Dissention arose among his numerous and ambitious Sons about the Succession, which in the end prov'd the Ruin of that Nation, who just before were thought to have aim'd at nothing less than the Destruction of Mankind; for *Ardarich*, King of the *Gepidæ*, who had follow'd *Attila* in all his Expeditions, rose up against his Sons, and shook off the Yoke, in which he was follow'd by the other Nations, who asserted and procured their former Liberty; for they fought the *Hunns*, kill'd *Ellec*, the eldest of *Attila*'s Sons, together with thirty thousand of his Adherents, and by the Consent of the Emperor made a Division of their Territories.

He is again defeated in Gaul.

His Death.

Va-

Valentinian finding himself deliver'd from so terrible an Enemy, follow'd his vicious Pleasures with a more unbounded Appetite than ever, which this very Year drew upon him the Punishment he had long deserv'd. There was among the Senators one *Petronius Maximus*, Grandson to that *Maximus* who was overthrown by *Theodosius* the Great, that had marry'd a Wife not more extraordinary for her Beauty than Chastity. With this Lady the Emperor became deeply in Love, and when he found that all his Threats, Promises and Presents were to no purpose, he resolv'd to seize on that by Force, which he could not purchase by his Importunity. He one Day sent for *Maximus* to Court, and playing with him at Dice won a considerable Sum of Mony from him, and receiv'd a Ring off his Finger as a Pledge for the Payment of it. This Ring he sent privately to his Wife, and requir'd her, in her Husband's Name, to come and wait upon the Empress *Eudoxia*; the Lady knowing it to be her Husband's Ring without any Hesitation came to Court, and was conducted, by some the Emperor employ'd for that purpose, into a remote Chamber, where *Valentinian* by force enjoy'd her. She at first imagin'd her Husband privy to the Outrage by reason of the Ring, so that upon her Return home she severely reproach'd him, as the Author of his own Dishonour and Infamy. *Maximus*, surpriz'd at this Discourse, acquainted his Wife with the wicked Artifice of the Emperor, and from that Moment resolv'd to be reveng'd upon *Valentian*, but knew it impossible to effect his Destruction whilst *Ætius* liv'd, and therefore thought how to remove him first out of the way; and that he might make *Valentinian* the more odious to the Army, who ador'd *Ætius*, he effected it by the Emperor's own Hands; for he got some that were

Valentinian *Ravishes the Wife of* Maximus;

near

near his Perſon to perſuade him that *Ætius* was a dangerous Man, that he was contriving how to ſet up for himſelf, and uſurp the Imperial Dignity, in order to which he kept Correſpondence with the Enemies of the Empire. *Valentinian*'s natural Depravity inclin'd him to be jealous of thoſe he knew to be better than himſelf, ſo that he eaſily believ'd theſe Suggeſtions, and concluded his Safety conſiſted in the Death of *Ætius*, for which reaſon the ungrateful Prince kill'd him himſelf, and order'd all his intimate Friends to be Slain; the Death of *Ætius* was much lamented by the whole Army, who conſider'd him as the Bulwark of the Empire, which made a *Roman* anſwer *Valentinian*, when he ask'd him if he had not done well in diſpatching *Ætius*, *That he thought he had cut his Right Hand off with his Left*; he was at that time the greateſt Soldier in the Empire, being a perfect Maſter in the Art of War, but withal he had an ambitious aſpiring Spirit, which made him an Enemy to all thoſe whoſe Merit ſeem'd in any degree to equal his. *Valentinian* was ſo far from imagining any one would preſume to revenge upon him the Death of *Ætius*, that he preferr'd ſeveral of the Army who had a profound Veneration for that Great Man to be of his Body Guard; to ſome of theſe *Maximus* addreſs'd himſelf, and prevail'd with two of 'em, known to Poſterity by the Name of *Oſtila* and *Tranſila*, to diſpatch *Valentinian*; accordingly they fell upon him as he was making a Speech to the Soldiers from the Tribunal in the *Campus Martius*, on the 17th of *March*, and kill'd him, together with *Heraclius* his Favourite Eunuch, who couragiouſly interpos'd and endeavour'd to ſave his Maſter.

and kills Ætius.

Valentinian Slain.

A. D. 455.

Valentinian was Slain in the Thirtieth Year of his Reign, and Thirty fifth of his Age. During his Government the Empire, which in the time of

His Character.

Honorius

Honorius began to decline, may be ſaid to have been ſeiz'd with a mortal Diſtemper, eſpecially after the Death of his Mother *Placidia*; for all the great Offices of Honour and Profit were at the Diſpoſal of Eunuchs, who ſacrificed the Good of the publick to their own private Intereſt and Ambition. After he grew up to Years of Diſcretion he never undertook any Voyage or Journey farther than from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, and from *Ravenna* back again to *Rome*. He continued lock'd up in his Palace, where he plung'd himſelf into all ſenſual Pleaſures; this encouraged the Barbarians to ſtrip him, as they did, of ſo many of the Provinces, for in his Reign *Rome* was taken and pillaged, *Africk*, *Spain*, Great *Britain*, and almoſt all *Gaul*, *Germany* and *Illyricum* were diſmember'd from the Weſtern Empire: Tho' we muſt own he was not unhappy in his Wars with that Scourge of God, *Attila*, whom by his Generals he often defeated, and drove out of his Dominions. Certain it is he was the laſt that ſeem'd to be Emperor indeed, in whom a true Imperial Majeſty reſided; for they that ſucceeded him in the Weſt were like Meteors and Exhalations, that vaniſh'd as ſoon as they appear'd.

As *Valentinian*'s Life was ſcandalous and unſerviceable to the Empire, ſo did his Death prove fatal and deſtructive to it. Leaving no Sons behind him, it was eaſie for *Maximus*, the Author of his Ruin, to ſeize on the Purple in the general Confuſion, being a Man very rich and powerful, and was accordingly proclaim'd Emperor by the Guards in the Imperial Palace. His own Wife being lately dead, his firſt care was to marry *Eudoxia*, Widdow to *Valentinian*, thinking by ſuch a Match to add Reputation and Vigour to his Authority: *Eudoxia* was averſe to the thing, but the Tyrant forc'd her to comply, and by that means ſtain'd *Valentinian*'s

Maximus *Uſurps.*

Bed,

Bed, as he had dishonour'd his. He made his Son *Palladius Cæsar*, and marry'd him to *Eudoxia*, *Valentinian*'s Daughter, who had been formerly promis'd to *Gaudentius*, the Son of *Ætius*. Some Writers say he had not held the Empire twenty four Hours before he began to be weary of the Toil, and repented of his Advancement, reputing *Damocles* happy, for that he was cumber'd with Royalty for no longer than the space of one Dinner: However, considering that to descend from so high an Eminence would endanger a Fall, he resolv'd to maintain himself in his new Authority, and, if possible, restore it to its ancient Splendor; for which purpose he made *Avitus*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Gaul*, General of his Armies. *Avitus* was descended from one of the most noble and ancient Families in that Country, he was a Man of Learning and Eloquence, and had given many signal Proofs of his Valour and Conduct; him *Maximus* sent to conclude a Peace with all the neighbouring Crowns from whom he had reason to apprehend any Disturbance, concluding that when once he had establish'd himself, and settled his Affairs at home, he might then deal with 'em at his leisure, and subdue 'em: But God blasted the Designs of this Parricide, and made his own Folly the Instrument of his Ruin. Tho' he had marry'd *Eudoxia* only for Reasons of State, yet in a short time he grew fondly enamour'd, and thought the readiest way to ingratiate himself with her, and gain her Affections, was to tell her that his Love to her made him desirous of *Valentinian*'s Ruin, which was propos'd and effected purely by his Contrivance for her sake. She hated and mistrusted him before, but being now confirm'd in her Suspicions she was resolv'd to be reveng'd whatever it cost her, and took such a Course to effect it as in the Issue prov'd fatal to her self, to *Rome*, and all

all *Italy*. Early in the Morning she rose, and sent a trusty Servant with Letters to *Genserich* in *Africk*, conjuring him to come and revenge the Death of his Friend and Ally *Valentinian*, and deliver her out of Captivity, and from the Arms of a Tyrant and Usurper. This Message was very acceptable to *Genserich*, who had long wish'd for such an Opportunity, which he was resolv'd to embrace; and immediately rigg'd out a very powerful Fleet of *Vandals* and *Moors*, and set sail for *Italy*, where he was little expected. *Maximus* was, before the News of his Arrival, in a disconsolate, desponding Condition; the Burden of Empire made him uneasie in the Day-time, and the Terrors of a guilty Conscience distracted him in the Night: But upon *Genserich*'s Approach he was seiz'd with the utmost Consternation. Instead of providing for the necessity of his Affairs, and comforting by his Presence and Application his unhappy Subjects, who thought their Safety in so imminent a Danger consisted in their Flight, he participated with 'em in their Fears, and was one of the first that prepared to fly. This being observ'd by some Senators that were his Enemies, and that he deserted those whom it was his Duty to protect, they pursu'd him on the twelfth of *June*, and having stoned him, they dragg'd his Corps about the Streets, and then threw it into the *Tiber*. Three Days after this Execution *Genserich* enter'd *Rome* without any Opposition, that now lay expos'd to his Lust and Avarice. Tho' he had promis'd *Eudoxia* to abstain from Plunder, and behave himself with the greatest Moderation; tho' *Leo* the Great, who was then Pope of *Rome*, went attended by the chief of the City to meet him, and conjur'd him by all things holy to have Compassion of that City, which even *Attila*, a sworn Enemy to Christ, had lately exempted from Violation; notwithstanding

Genserich *invades* Italy.

Maximus *Slain.*

ing all which, this barbarous King, who made a Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, in ſpite of his Faith given to *Eudoxia*, and unmov'd by the Eloquence and more prevailing Tears of the venerable Prelate, gave it up to the Mercy of his Soldiers, who for four-

Genſerich *ſacks* Rome

teen Days together raged with implacable Fury in the midſt of it; ſparing neither private Dwellings nor publick Buildings; pillaging the very Churches of all the rich Ornaments and conſecrated Veſſels, among which were thoſe taken formerly by *Titus* out of the Temple at *Jeruſalem* and brought to *Rome*, where they had been hitherto very carefully preſerv'd. The Tyrant himſelf forced the Imperial Palace, where he ſeized upon all the Treaſure and rich Moveables, affording the Empreſs too much reaſon to repent of the cruel Vengeance ſhe had drawn upon her ſelf and the City; for he carry'd her and her two Daughters, *Placidia* and *Eudoxia*, Captive with him into *Africk*, where he marry'd the Eldeſt to his Son *Honoric*, and ſent the Empreſs to *Conſtantinople*, together with her younger Daughter *Placidia*, who was afterwards marry'd to *Olybrius*, one of the Weſtern Emperors.

Martian was much concern'd at the Calamities of the Weſtern Empire, but being grown old and infirm he could not provide any Remedies againſt 'em, nor think of naming a new Emperor, as the Senate had deſired him. One indeed bore the Title of Emperor in the Weſt, tho' he held it but a few Months. *Avitus*, as we obſerv'd before, had been ſent by *Maximus* into *Gaul*, where, upon the News of the Tyrant's Death, he was perſuaded by *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths*, to aſſume the Purple; who repreſented to him, that there was no other Perſon in the Empire fit to bear the Burden, and ſupport the Dignity of it; that the publick Intereſt, and the Safety of the State required it of him; that he might

might do it without injuring any one, becauſe there appear'd no Pretenders to it; that the Soldiers and the People preſented it to him, and begg'd him to accept of the Imperial Scepter; that as for his part he might aſſure himſelf of all the Power and Aſſiſtance he could expect from him, the better to ſupport his Title. *Avitus*, who well foreſaw how difficult a thing it would be to preſerve himſelf in that Dignity they were now courting him to accept of, however ſuffered himſelf to be prevail'd upon by the Officers that were about him, and the Perſuaſions of *Theodorich*, ſo that he was declar'd Emperor on the tenth of *July*, and immediately ſent to acquaint the Senate of *Rome* with his Promotion, and to inform 'em, that as ſoon as he had compos'd the Affairs in *Gaul* he intended to appear in Perſon among 'em. Accordingly he gave Orders for the Defence of thoſe Parts lying on the other ſide the *Loire* from the Incurſions of the *Franks*, and thoſe on the South ſide from the Violence of the *Goths*, and engaged his Friend *Theodorich* to defend that Portion of *Spain* which as yet acknowledged an Obedience to the Empire from the Inſults of the *Suevi*; after which he ſet forward for *Rome*, attended by a very gallant Army, compos'd for the moſt part of ſuch *Goths* as *Theodorich* had appropriated to his Service. This made the Senate and People receive him at firſt with an outward Show of Joy and Submiſſion, becauſe indeed they were not ſtrong enough to oppoſe him; but as ſoon as he had diſmiſs'd his Troops, upon a Preſumption that he ſhould have no farther Occaſion for 'em, then they began to teſtifie their Averſion to him, eſpecially out of an Abhorrence to the Memory of *Maximus*, who firſt advanc'd him, and whom they condemned as the Spring of all their preſent Calamities; they therefore expell'd him out of the City, and forced him to di-

Avitus declared Emperor.

And is deposed.

veſt himſelf of the Imperial Purple, after he had worn it eight or ten Months. This he did at *Placentia*, of which Place he got himſelf to be ordain'd Biſhop, but finding that Character could not ſecure him from the Fury and Indignation of the Senate, he reſolved to take Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Julian* in *Auvergne*, where he was born, but dy'd upon the Road as he was travelling thither.

In the mean time *Theodorich*, according to his Promiſe given *Avitus*, march'd with a numerous Army out of *Aquitain* into *Spain*, where he fought with *Ricciarius*, King of the *Suevi*, ſix Leagues off from the City of *Aſtorga*, overthrew him, took him Priſoner in his Flight, and put him to death; after this Victory he waſted at his pleaſure *Gallicia* and *Portugal*. But whilſt he with his *Goths* was diverted thus in *Spain*, and the *Roman* Army followed *Avitus* into *Italy*, the *Franks* laid hold of the Opportunity they had been often wiſhing for, and ſettled themſelves in the middle of *Gaul*, eſtabliſhing their Kingdom at *Paris*, and by that means tore another Principality out of the Body of the Weſtern Empire.

A. D. 457. This Loſs was follow'd by another in *Africk*, where *Genſerich*, not contented with the late Violation of the Peace, crown'd one Injuſtice with another, and ſeiz'd on that part of *Africk* which in the Partition of the Country had been reſign'd to *Valentinian*; ſo that the *Romans* now had nothing left there, for it continued entire in the Poſſeſſion of the *Vandals* 'till the Reign of *Juſtinian*. In this miſerable defenceleſs Condition was the Empire of the Weſt, an Empire in name, but in reality no other than the Shadow of her former Greatneſs, deſerted by her Friends, inſulted by her Enemies, and grown the very Sport of Fortune, that in every reſpect had abandon'd her. 'Tis true the Emperor

Martian

Martian was nearly touch'd at her Confuſions, but as he was preparing to relieve and reſtore her; and revenge upon the Barbarians the Affronts the *Roman* Majeſty had ſuſtain'd, he was prevented by Death, which put an end to all his future Deſigns, after a peaceable Reign of ſix Years: For in his time the Barbarians gave little or no Diſturbance on that ſide of the Empire, which is imputed by moſt Writers to his extraordinary Wiſdom and Cirrumſpection. He is much commended for the Innocence and Simplicity of his Manners, and his Zeal for the Defence and Purity of Religion; and eſpecially in that at his Death he left the Army ſubject to the Directions of the Senate, and the Senate ſo modeſt and unanimous that no Heats, Diviſions, or ſiniſter ambitious Practices appear'd in the Choice of a Succeſſor, the Election falling upon *Leo*, a *Thracian* by Birth, who had ſignalized himſelf upon many extraordinary Occaſions, and was acknowledged by all to be worthy the Imperial Dignity. *Leo*, as ſoon as he was Crown'd by *Anatolius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, thought it high time to ſupply the Weſtern Empire with a worthy Head, and reſolv'd to promote *Majorianus* to that high Dignity, a Man of great Wiſdom and Virtue, and the moſt capable to reſtore the Peace of *Europe*: Having therefore made him General of the Armies, as the next Step to the Imperial Power, he ſent him with a noble Train into *Italy*, where by the general Conſent of all he was declared *Auguſtus*; and applying himſelf ſeriouſly to the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, he made choice of the ableſt Men in the Empire to be the Miniſters of State; making *Ricimer*, a *Goth* by Nation, but a Man of great Experience, and on whom he entirely depended, Commander in chief of all his Forces; his firſt care was to ſecure *Italy* againſt the Inſults of *Genſerich*, who rigg'd out a Fleet this

Martian *Dies.*

His Character.

Leo *elected Emperor.*

Majorian *Emperor in the Weſt.*

Year with an intent to fall upon *Campania*, and enrich himſelf with the Spoils of that Country whilſt the Empire was without a Governor; but *Majorianus* march'd againſt him with a ſtrong Army and gave him Battel, in which the *Vandals* were overthrown, and forc'd to fly to their Ships for Safety.

A. D. 458. After this he ſupply'd all the Coaſts of *Italy* that lye towards *Africk* with good Garriſons, and in the beginning of the Year following fitted out a ſtrong Fleet, with an intent to follow the *Vandals* into *Africk*, and make that the Seat of the War. All this while *Theodorich* was purſuing his Conqueſts in *Spain*, piercing with his Troops into the Heart of *Portugal* without any Reſiſtance, and was ſate down before the City of *Merida*, but rais'd the Siege upon an Intelligence of ſome Commotions in his own Dominions in *Gaul*, which obliged him to return home; where, during the Abſence of the Forces of the Empire in *Africk*, he fell upon ſome of the *Roman* Dominions in *Gaul*, and extending his Conqueſts up as far as the *Rhône*, he beſieg'd, took and pillaged the wealthy City of *Lyons*, but was at laſt compell'd to ſubmit to *Majorian*, who granted him Peace upon Condition he lent him ſome of his Forces, which he deſign'd to employ againſt the *Vandals* in *Africk*, which he was very ambitious of recovering out of the Hands of the Barbarians. The better to inform himſelf of the Strength of the Enemy, the State of the Country, and how the Inhabitants ſtood affected to the *Roman* Intereſt, he is ſaid to have enter'd upon a Deſign full of Danger for a Perſon of his Dignity; for he diſguis'd himſelf, and went in the Quality of an Embaſſador from the *Roman* Emperor, ſent into *Africk* to make *Genſerich* ſome Overtures of a Peace. *Genſerich* receiv'd him very kindly, ſhow'd him the Magnificence of his Court, his Treaſury and *Arſenal*; all which when *Majorianus* had

had ſufficiently contemplated, and diſcover'd all he had a Deſire to be inform'd of, he return'd to his Army, and immediately beſieg'd *Carthage*, which he was in a fair way of taking when he fell dangerouſly ſick, and ſo was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege and Embark for *Italy*, after a great part of *Mauritania*, ſurpriz'd at his ſudden Expedition, had ſubmitted to him, and they were not without Hopes that the whole Country might be reduc'd. Indeed the Empire ſeem'd to receive new Life from his great Abilities and Induſtry, by Virtue of which he had forc'd the *Goths* to ſue for a Peace, as we obſerv'd before, and not long after, by his vigorous Preparations, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into *Genſerich*, who was aw'd by his Virtue, that he grew weary of the War, and ſollicited a Peace, which was granted him by *Majorianus* upon Terms very advantagious to the Empire. But the Hopes the State conceiv'd of a Recovery under his Hands, were no other than a lightning, as it's call'd, before Death; for whilſt he was buſied in ſettling the Affairs of *Gaul*, *Ricimer* and *Severus* form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him, in which it was agreed that *Ricimer* ſhould diſpatch him, and *Severus* ſeize on the Empire; for *Ricimer* being a Barbarian had not the Confidence to uſurp the Purple himſelf. Before *Majorianus* left *Gaul* he preſs'd the *Alani* ſo cloſe, that to divert him they Invaded *Italy*, which he made haſte to relieve, and follow'd 'em as far as *Tortona* in *Liguria*, where he was met by *Ricimer*, who at firſt pretended he had brought ſome Forces to his Aſſiſtance, but murder'd him on the Seventh of *Auguſt*, and ſo gave a Mortal Wound to the Empire in the Weſt. After he had done his Buſineſs *Ricimer* return'd to *Ravenna*, where the Soldiers, who had been prepar'd before Hand, declar'd *Severus* Emperor without waiting

A. D. 461.

Majorianus *murder'd by* Ricimer.

for any Orders or Approbation from *Constantinople*. This new Emperor, after some successful Enterprises against the *Vandals*, who had upon the Death of *Majorianus* attack'd the Islands adjoining to *Africk*, and had defeated the *Alani* who had Invaded *Liguria*, was in the Fourth Year of his Reign poison'd by his Friend *Ricimer*, after which was an *Inter-Regnum* for some time in the West.

The Death of Leo *the Great, Pope of* Rome.

Not long before this dy'd *Leo* the Great, who had been Pope of *Rome* for one and twenty Years together, a Man of a great Mind and extraordinary Qualifications, remarkable as in several other respects, so particularly in this, that whereas his Predecessors founded their Pretensions to a Superiority upon the Dignity of the Imperial City, and the Constitutions of some precedent Councils, he observing the Distractions under which the Western Empire labour'd, and which threaten'd it with a Dissolution, and that the City of *Rome*, which had been often taken and pillag'd, was in great Danger of losing her Sovereingty, chose rather to establish the Precedency he claim'd, as Pope of *Rome*, over all other Bishops whatever, upon those Words of Christ, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I build my Church*; from thence claiming a peculiar Prerogative, as the immediate Successor of St. *Peter*. The Christian World has too much reason to know how this Title has been since prosecuted.

After the Death of *Severus*, who, tho' an Usurper, fell lamented by the Senate and People of *Rome*, *Genserich* once more broke out into Hostilities, and behav'd himself more like a Pirate than a Prince, sometimes infesting the Coasts of *Italy*, at others falling upon *Gaul*, or the Neighbouring Islands, where, after having seiz'd on whatever things of value the Country afforded, he return'd loaden with his Spoils to *Africk*; and was usually so

ſo uncertain in his Expeditions, that they never knew where to expect or oppoſe him; being very often at a loſs himſelf what Courſe to ſteer upon his firſt putting out to Sea, as appear'd by his Anſwer one Day to his Admiral, who demanding of him to what Parts he would have him Sail, he reply'd, *Thither where God ſhall call, and the Wind drive us.*

A. D. 467. Theſe his continu'd Depredations made *Leo* at length reſolve to nominate an Emperor for the Weſt, where *Ricimer*, ever ſince the Death of *Severus*, had govern'd as he pleas'd, tho' without the Marks of Empire, and done the State no ſmall Service againſt the *Vandals*. *Leo* made choice of *Anthemius*, a Man of Noble Extraction, and very wealthy, who, after he had behav'd himſelf with much Courage in the Wars againſt the *Hunns*, over whom he had obtain'd many Advantages, was advanc'd to the Principal Command in the Army; theſe Qualifications, and the Perſonal Kindneſs *Leo* had for him, made him conſider him as the fitteſt Man for a Collegue, and accordingly declar'd him Emperor in the Weſt. Some ſay this Choice was not only confirm'd by the Conſent of *Ricimer* himſelf and the Senate, but conferr'd upon him at their united Requeſts; accordingly *Anthemius* ſet out from the Eaſt, and arriv'd at *Rome* on the Twelfth of *April*, where he was receiv'd, and declar'd *Auguſtus* with the general Applauſe and Acclamation of the People: For as much as *Ricimer*'s Power was known to be abſolute in the Weſt, it was at firſt agreed that he ſhould marry *Anthemius* his Daughter, and by that means the better confirm the Sovereign Power in the Hands of his Father-in-Law, and to make the Empire ſtronger, if poſſible, by Alliances, *Leo* marry'd his Daughter *Leontia* to *Martian*, the Son of *Anthemius*, ſo that Anthemius.

for ſome time both Courts were employ'd in Publick Triumphs and Diverſions, as if the ancient Glories of the Empire were blooming a freſh, and there were no Enemies able to diſturb 'em; tho' *Leo* in the midſt of theſe Solemnities had his Thoughts upon *Genſerich*'s Depredations and Piracies, and what Courſe was to be taken to reſtrain him; for he had lately infeſted *Illyricum* and *Peloponneſus*, which being Members of the Eaſtern Empire more particularly concern'd him; for this reaſon he fitted out a very ſtrong Fleet, ſaid to conſiſt of no leſs than Eleven hundred Sail well equipp'd, and provided with all ſorts of Ammuniti-

Baſiliſcus, *Admiral of Leo's Fleet;*

on and Proviſion, and made *Baſiliſcus*, Brother to his Wife *Verina*, Admiral; and at the ſame time deſir'd and adviſ'd *Anthemius* to make what Forwardneſs he could in his Preparations for the War. *Genſerich* in the mean while had recourſe to his uſual Devices, and privately inform'd *Olybrius*, a Senator, very Rich and of great Intereſt, that if he would join with him at that Conjuncture againſt the two Emperors, he would employ all his Forces to make him Emperor of the Weſt; *Olybrius* willingly liſten'd to his Propoſals, and from that time forward fell off from his Affections to *Anthemius*.

Before *Leo* ſuffer'd his Fleet to put to Sea, he thought it Prudence to ſecure *Mercellianus* to his Intereſt, who had been formerly a great Friend to *Ætius*, after whoſe Murder he revolted from the Emperor, and perſuaded others to follow his Example, with whom he retir'd into *Dalmatia*, where he fortify'd himſelf in Defiance of the Empire, and grew very rich and powerful in the Country; but *Leo* ſo effectually prevail'd upon him by the Intervention of ſome who had a Friendſhip for both, that he enter'd into his Service, and com-

manded

manded an Army in *Sardinia*, which had been lately seiz'd by the *Vandals*, whom he drove out of the Island, and having restor'd it to the Obedience of the *Roman* Empire proceeded into *Sicily*, for which he hop'd to effect the same Deliverance. About the same time *Leo*'s Forces landed in *Africk*, where *Heraclius* with an advanc'd Party took the Town of *Tripoly*, and had *Basiliscus* march'd on directly to *Carthage* he might easily have master'd that City, and with it the rest of the Country, and so have put an end to the War at once. For the News of the loss of *Tripoly* and *Sardinia*, and the appearance of so powerful a Fleet, so distracted the Barbarians that they were seiz'd with a Panick Fear; but by his dilatory Proceedings and ill Conduct he gave *Genserich* time to look about him, and learn to despise him; whether this proceeded from his Fear and Cowardice, or his Avarice, being corrupted by a great Sum of Mony sent him from *Genserich*, or whether he was perswaded to it by *Aspar*, who advis'd him to prolong the War, and thereby make himself more considerable to the Empire; the readiest way to attain the Imperial Power, to which he promis'd in time to advance him, is uncertain. *Aspar* is thought to have given him this wicked Counsel for fear *Leo*, upon his Success, should grow too Bold and Potent, and have it in his Power to ruin him and his Factious Heretical Family. Whatever the reasons were, *Genserich* improv'd the Advantage, rais'd all the Forces he could, Mann'd out his Fleet, and that he might gain time sufficient to provide himself, he desir'd, by his Embassadors sent to *Basiliscus*, time to resolve either to submit to the Emperor, or continue the War. *Basiliscus* without any scruple consented to a Cessation, and in the mean time had no Care of the Fleet, but lay open to the Practices of the Enemy, who one Night,

who miscarries in the Expedition.

Night, whilſt the *Romans* were a-ſleep, took the Advantage of a favourable Wind, and bore down upon 'em with ſome Fire-Ships prepar'd for that purpoſe, which they let drive with full Sail upon the *Roman* Navy, and the next Morning before the *Romans* could have time to Tack, and recover themſelves out of their Diſorder, they drew up into a Line of Battel; but *Baſiliſcus* was ſo far from venturing an Engagement, that he tack'd about, and made away with the beſt Sail he had; the reſt of the Fleet ſeeing the Admiral quit his Station follow'd his Example, and crowded after him, ſaving themſelves where and in what manner they could. The Land Army left behind in *Africk*, being thus abandon'd, was eaſily defeated by the *Vandals*, who kill'd ſome and made the reſt Priſoners; whilſt *Baſiliſcus* made haſte to *Conſtantinople*, where the People were ſo incens'd againſt him, that he was forc'd to fly for Refuge into the great Church, and at laſt, by the Emperor's Permiſſion, retir'd into *Thrace*. Thus all theſe mighty Hopes and Warlike Preparations vaniſh'd into Air; *Genſerich* grew more Bold and Preſumptious upon his Deliverance, and the great Check and Diappointment of the Empire. *Marcellianus*, who had hitherto met with great Succeſs in *Sicily*, was overpower'd by the *Vandals*, who, after the Miſcarriage of the Imperial Fleet, were ſent in great Numbers to the Relief of the Iſland, and the *Romans*, fruſtrated of their great Expectations, grew heartleſs and diſpirited.

A. D. 368.

Leo knew very well that *Aſpar* was in a great meaſure the Author of theſe Misfortunes; he was the great Patron of the *Arian* Faction, and ſo potent in Friends and Dependants, that *Leo* found it neceſſary to diſſemble with him in order to ruin him, for which reaſon he created his Son *Cæſar*, gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and by that means

Aſpar's Son made Cæſar.

means endeavour'd to allure him into a senseless Security, if he found it impossible to reduce him to his Duty and Loyalty. The Inhabitants of *Constantinople* were much displeas'd at this Promotion, for they knew *Aspar* and all his Family were obstinate *Arians*, and were enrag'd when they beheld a Son of that Family design'd Successor to an Old Man in the Imperial Seat. In the mean time *Aspar* grew more Insolent upon his Son's Advancement, and could not conceal from the People his ambitious Designs; this provok'd the Citizens to that degree that they insulted him in the *Hippodrome*, and so terrify'd him with their Threats, that he was forc'd to fly and take Sanctuary in the Church of *Chalcedon.* The Emperor sent *Gennadius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, after him, and promis'd him and his Sons all the Security they could desire, if they would return; but they refus'd to stir, unless the Emperor himself would come in Person, and Protect 'em from the Insolence of the Rabble; he went accordingly, took 'em home to his Palace, seated 'em at his own Table, and by his Condescention persuaded 'em to imagine he had either forgot or forgiven their Practices against him. But finding they were Persons in no measure to be trusted, and that he must either prevent them, or be prevented by 'em, he order'd *Zeno*, an *Isaurian*, to cut off their Heads the next time they came to Court. *Zeno*, being a hardy resolute Man, punctually executed his Commission, by which means the most potent Family in the Empire, which had brought great Difficulties upon the State, and had no less afflicted the Church, was destroy'd in the height of their Ambition, to the great Safety of the Emperor and Satisfaction of the People. From hence Princes may draw this useful Maxim, Never to suffer their Ministers to grow too great, lest in

Aspar takes Sanctuary at Chalcedon

A. D. 370. *Aspar and his Sons Slain.*

time

time they become more powerful and popular than themſelves; and ambitious Courtiers ought to be cautious in their exalted Fortunes of making their Maſters jealous of their Greatneſs, leſt they provoke the ſame Power that lifted 'em up to turn to their Deſtruction.

The *Arian* Hereticks, who were then very powerful and numerous throughout both the Empires, were highly affronted at the Death of *Aſpar* and his Sons, but no one was more diſpleas'd and irritated than their Friend and Countryman *Ricimer*; who knowing himſelf powerful in his Intereſt at home, having the Chief Command in the Army, and no leſs formidable in his Friends abroad, began at this time to practice againſt *Anthemius*, and ſtudy'd how to deprive him both of his Life and Dignity. *Evarich*, King of the *Goths* in *Spain* and *Gaul*, and *Genſerich*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, the Terror as well of the Eaſt as the Weſt, were his great Friends upon account of his Original and Religion, both which were glad to create or countenance any Diſturbances in the Empire, ſo that he made no doubt of deſtroying *Anthemius*, and in his Deſtruction revenge upon *Leo* the Death of *Aſpar*. However he either wanted Art or Care enough to weave his Deſigns ſo fine, as to make 'em paſs unobſerv'd by the watchful Eye of *Anthemius*, who began firſt to diſtruſt, and then expreſs his Reſentments againſt him, and the Coals of Diſſention were by their Friends on both ſides blown up to that degree, that *Ricimer* was glad to provide for his Safety in *Milan*, where in appearance he deſir'd to live at Peace, but was inwardly reſolv'd upon *Anthemius* his Ruin. The Nobility of thoſe Parts were very much concern'd at this Breach, which they were afraid would at length plunge *Italy* into new Miſchiefs; they therefore undertook

Ricimer *angry at it.*

dertook to mediate betwixt him and the Emperor, and perſuaded him to a Submiſſion; they recommended *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, to negotiate a Reconciliation with the Emperor. *Epiphanius* was a Man in great Eſteem for his Probity, Prudence, Eloquence and Capacity; which Conſiderations made *Ricimer* willing enough to comply with their Deſires, and accordingly the Biſhop accepted of the Employment. *Anthemius* knew the ſcope of *Ricimer*'s Deſigns, in his choice of a Perſon ſo celebrated for his Sanctity; for if now he refus'd to liſten to *Ricimer*'s Propoſitions of Peace, he ſhould loſe himſelf in the Opinion of honeſt well-meaning Men, and if he embrac'd 'em he put it once more in his Power to undo him. The Biſhop deliver'd his Meſſage to him in a very elegant, pathetical Speech, and obtain'd his Deſire: *Anthemius* conſented to a Peace, which he knew in his own Thoughts would not be long obſerv'd, and diſmiſs'd the Biſhop highly pleas'd with the Succeſs of his Negotiation.

After this there ſeem'd for ſome time to be a good Correſpondence between 'em, but the Year following *Ricimer* broke out into open Rebellion, and with a very ſtrong Army beſieg'd *Anthemius* in *Rome*, where the Inhabitants, ſenſible of the Injuſtice of *Ricimer*'s Cauſe, were well affected to *Anthemius*, but were afraid to declare themſelves becauſe the Rebel appear'd the more powerful. *Ricimer* preſs'd on the Siege with much Vigour, and ſo cloſely block'd up the Town, that firſt a Famine, and after that a grievous Plague raged within the Walls. In this condition the Emperor's whole Dependance lay in the Succours he expected from the *Goths* in *Gaul*, who were moving to his Aſſiſtance under the Conduct of *Bilimer*, but *Ricimer* turn'd head againſt 'em, fought, and deſtroy'd a great Number of 'em, among

A. D. 472. *Beſieges Anthemius in Rome;*

mong whom was their Commander; and exalted by this Succeſs renew'd the Siege with redoubled Vigour: And the City being much weaken'd by Detachments, by Famine, and the Plague, he broke into it on the eleventh of *July*, where he raged with as much Fury as *Alarich* or *Genſerich* had done before him: Thus was the Capital City of the World taken no leſs than three times, within the ſpace of ſixty three Years, by her moſt implacable Enemies. He permitted his Soldiers to plunder the Citizens, exempting only two Regions in which he had ſettled his own Quarters. He laid hold of *Anthemius*, and without any regard had to him as his Emperor or Father-in-Law he put him to death, and eſtabliſh'd *Olybrius* Emperor in his room. But God thought fit ſhortly after to puniſh him for his inhuman Cruelties, for he was ſeiz'd with a violent Pain in his Bowels, of which he dy'd on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, and went to give a juſt Account of his Actions to the Impartial Judge of the Univerſe, after he had domineer'd like a ſecond *Stilicho* ever ſince the Death of *Valentinian*. From a common Soldier he advanc'd himſelf by his Valour to the higheſt Poſts in the Army, and diſpos'd of the Weſtern Empire according to his own Fancy. He had ſeiz'd upon the Church of St. *Agatha* in *Rome* for the Service of his *Arian* Hereticks, who could not be remov'd out of it 'till the Popedom of *Gregory* I, near 120 Years after.

puts him to Death,

and dies himſelf.

Olybrius was ſcarce warm in his new Dignity before he followed his great Patron *Ricimer*, in Gratitude to whoſe Memory he made his Grandſon *Gundibarius* a Patrician; an Honour firſt created by *Conſtantine* the Great, and in ſo great Eſteem from the very beginning, that they who were dignify'd with that Title took place of the *Præfecti Prætorio* themſelves.

Oly-

Olybrius in his Death left two Competitors to the Succeſſion, one ſupported by *Gundibarius*, who following the Example of his Grandfather *Ricimer* had proclaim'd *Glycerius* Emperor at *Ravenna*; the other promoted by *Leo*, who much reſenting the late Revolutions in *Rome*, eſpecially the Death of *Anthemius*, made choice of *Julius Nepos*, the Son of *Nepotianus*, to whom he marry'd his Niece, and deſign'd him *Cæſar*. Whilſt *Italy* was thus diſtracted and broken by Factions, *Genſerich*, her ancient and avow'd Enemy, did not only oppreſs her by his Arms in her *African* Provinces, but encouraged the *Oſtrogoths* at once to invade the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire, to which they were animated by the Proſpect of a great Booty. Hereupon *Theodomir* their King, obſerving the diſtracted Condition of the *Roman* Empire, thought he had now an Opportunity of encroaching upon it, and enlarging his Borders, and accordingly order'd his Brother *Vindemir*, or *Windemir*, to break into *Italy*, whilſt he forc'd himſelf into *Illyricum*, a Country ſtronger and better guarded. *Vindemir* dy'd in his March, and left the execution of his Enterprize to his Son, who was met by Embaſſadors from *Glycerius* with Offers of a great Sum of Mony, if he would forbear his Deſigns upon *Italy* and divert his March into *Gaul*, where he had Relations of his own that reign'd in full Power. *Vindemir* accepted of the Conditions, and went and join'd with the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*, and by that Junction added much to the Power of thoſe Nations both in *Gaul* and *Spain*. In the mean time *Theodomir*, having defeated the *Sarmatæ*, attack'd *Naiſſus*, the Capital City of all *Illyricum*, took it, and fortify'd it. After this he march'd into *Theſſaly*, where he took *Heraclea* and *Lariſſa*, and had the like Deſign upon *Theſſalonica*; but *Clarianus* a Patrician was got into the Town before him, and

Glycerius.

with

with a good Garriſon defended it, 'till by the Emperor's Order he ſent out ſome Embaſſadors with very rich Preſents to *Theodomir*, who condeſcended to a Peace upon condition that the Eaſtern Part of *Illyricum* was reſign'd up to his *Oſtrogoths*, to which *Leo* readily conſented. By this we may ſee how much the preſent Emperors were degenerated from the Virtues of their Predeceſſors, ſince inſtead of protecting and enlarging their Dominions by their Courage, they were content to preſerve 'em by their Preſents and Entreaties.

As theſe Barbarians diſtreſs'd and diſtracted the Empire by their Arms, ſo they afflicted and divided the Church by their Hereſies. The whole Nation of the *Goths* were obſtinate *Arians*, for the Emperor *Valens*, who was himſelf the great Patron of *Arianiſm*, when requeſted to ſend 'em ſome Biſhops for their Converſion, made choice of none but ſuch as were the great Aſſertors of that damnable Hereſie, who by their Doctrine took care to convert 'em from Idolatry to Blaſphemy, and taught 'em to deny the Divinity of the Eternal Son of God, to the great Detriment of the Church, and Scandal of Chriſtianity.

Theſe *Goths*, whereſoever they planted themſelves by the force of their Arms, took care by the ſame means to eſtabliſh their Hereſie; and rais'd ſuch cruel Perſecutions againſt the true Believers, as the Church hardly ever ſuffer'd from Idolaters. By this means the Weſtern Empire became polluted with *Arianiſm*, whilſt the Eaſt was no leſs diſtracted by the Hereſies of *Eutyches* and *Neſtorius*; and herein the Father of Lies had a great Advantage, for whoever zealouſly oppos'd the *Neſtorian* Errors was branded with the *Eutychian*, and ſo on the contrary, by which means the Church was rent aſunder, and the truly Catholick were to move as between two Rocks,

Rocks, to the great Hazard of their Faith, that on each side was threaten'd with a Shipwrack.

Zeno *marries* Leo's *Daughter.*

Leo, in recompence of the great Services *Zeno* had done him upon the Family of *Aſpar*, marry'd him to his Daughter *Ariadne*, and made him Governor of the Eaſt, the Capital of which being *Antioch* he went to reſide there, carrying with him one *Peter* ſirnamed the *Fuller*, who had formerly been a Monk in the Monaſtery of the *Acœmites*, but had been expell'd from thence for his Debaucheries, and Adherence to the *Eutychian* Hereſie, of which he made open Profeſſion. Having met with ſome Perſons of Quality who were infected with the ſame Errors, he inſinuated himſelf by his Flatteries into their Friendſhip, and by that means got Acceſs to *Zeno*, and was favourably receiv'd by him. At *Antioch* he grew acquainted with ſeveral *Apollinariſts*, call'd ſo from an Arch-Heretick in the Fourth Century, who taught *that Jeſus Chriſt was not animated with a Human Soul, the want of which was ſupply'd by the Divinity; that the Fleſh he receiv'd from the Virgin deſcended originally down from Heaven, and only paſs'd through* Mary *as through a Conveyance; and that in adoring it we are to believe it co-eſſential and co-eternal with the Divinity; that in Jeſus Chriſt there were two diſtinct Sons, one of God, the other of the Virgin; that he was at firſt conceiv'd purely like other Men, but that after his Conception the Word deſcended, and operated in him as it had done before in the Prophets, without being united to him; that by his good Works he had obtain'd his Grandure and Perfection, and was now without a Body; that the Divinity ſuffer'd upon the Croſs; that it dy'd, and was rais'd again*; with ſeveral other as abſurd *Dogma's*, in which he reſembled the *Manichees* and *Sabellians*, and ſome of which were afterwards copy'd by the *Eutychians*. With theſe Hereticks *Pe-*

ter join'd himſelf, to calumniate *Martyrius* Biſhop of the Place, accuſing him for a *Neſtorian*, becauſe he receiv'd the Council of *Chalceaon*, wherein *Eutyches* and his Doctrine were condemn'd; and that he might be the better able to uſurp his See, he perſuaded *Zeno*, either by himſelf or ſome other Apoſtates of the ſame Opinions, that the Church of *Antioch* would never be in order whilſt *Martyrius* preſided in it; of which *Leo* being adviſed, he ſent for the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the better to inform himſelf of the Truth of the Allegations urg'd againſt him. *Martyrius* was ſo powerfully protected at *Conſtantinople* by *Gennadius*, Patriarch of the City, that the Emperor was made ſenſible of his Innocence, and the Malice of his Adverſary *Peter*, who in his Abſence had ſeiz'd upon the Epiſcopal Chair, and created one *John* Biſhop of *Apamea*, who had formerly been depos'd. The Emperor being inform'd of his wicked Practices, order'd *Peter* to be baniſh'd, and ſent *Martyrius* back to his Church; who upon his Return finding a great Diviſion among the People, and that *Zeno* favour'd and protected his Adverſaries, publickly abdicated himſelf from the Biſhoprick, ſaying, *I renounce a diſobedient Clergy, a rebellious People, and a defiled Church, reſerving no more to my ſelf than the Sacerdotal Dignity*; and ſo diveſted himſelf of the Epiſcopal Ornaments, to the great Detriment of the Truth, and Encouragement of its Enemies.

A. D. 474. Leo *Dies.*

About this time *Leo*, who had held the Reins of the Empire almoſt eighteen Years together, was ſeiz'd with a *Diarrhea*, which was attended with a Feaver, and carry'd him off in a ſhort time. He was a great Prince, wiſe and virtuous, and truly affectionate to the Catholick Religion, as appears by ſeveral Laws he made in favour of it; and the many Churches he built for Religious Worſhip. Howe-

ver

ver he is juſtly taxed for his too great Indulgence to the *Arians*, and blam'd for that he was not ſufficiently cautious whom he preferr'd, ſuch as *Baſiliſcus* and *Zeno*, who both prov'd bold Aſſertors of Hereſie, and drew great Calamities upon the Empire. Some ſay he ordain'd his Grandſon *Leo*, Son of *Zeno* and his Daughter *Ariadne*, his Succeſſor in the Empire, and appointed *Zeno* for his Guardian, 'till he was at Years of Diſcretion to govern the State himſelf: However it were, he ſurviv'd not his Grandfather above ten Months, and dyed when he was no more than two Years of Age, and ſo uncapable of regretting the Dignity he loſt.

In the mean time *Julius Nepos*, whom *Leo*, as we obſerv'd before, had appointed for Weſtern Emperor, hearing *Glycerius* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Dignity, ſet ſail for *Italy* with a very ſtrong Fleet, and landing near *Rome*, oblig'd *Glycerius* to quit the Imperial Purple, and retire to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*; of which Place he made him to be ordain'd Biſhop. After which *Nepos* was declar'd Emperor at *Rome*, the Affairs of which City after he had ſettled, he went and reſided at *Ravenna*.

Nepos *declar'd Emperor at* Rome.

During theſe Troubles *Evarich*, or *Eurich*, King of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, encouraged by ſo many Varieties and Alterations, which had in ſo high a meaſure weaken'd the Empire, fell into the Territories the *Romans* had ſtill left in that Country. *Nepos* ſent *Epiphanes*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, whom we had occaſion to make mention of before, to treat of a Peace with the *Goth*: The Biſhop manag'd the Negotiation very prudently, and concluded a Treaty in no Point diſadvantagious to the *Romans*. But *Eurich* ſoon after, tho' he had ſworn religiouſly to obſerve the Agreement, forcibly ſeiz'd upon *Armagnac*, *Rouergne*, *Perigueux* and *Limoſin*, and at laſt attempted *Clermont*, the Capital of *Auvergne*; but was courageouſly

giouſly repuls'd by *Ecdicius*, Son of *Avitus*, the late Emperor, aſſiſted by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, his Brother-in-Law, who was Biſhop of the Place, who is ſaid to have wrought Miracles by his Prayers, his Exhortations, and Letters to ſeveral Perſons of Quality, in which he implor'd their Succour in behalf of the diſtreſſed City. *Ecdicius* is reported to have made a Sally in the Day-time, attended with no more than eighteen Horſe, with which he ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Enemy that he put 'em into Diſorder, travers'd through their whole Army, kill'd all that came in his way, forc'd 'em for ſome time to retire from the Walls, and return'd ſafe into the City without the Loſs of one Man. An Action, if true, worthy to be compar'd with the Exploits of the firſt *Roman* Heroes, and ſufficient to prove that their ancient Valour was not quite extinct, tho' like the departing Soul it ſurviv'd only in Particulars, whereas before it animated the whole Body.

However *Eurich* failing in his Attempts upon the State, raged with equal Fury againſt the Church, expelling or impoveriſhing all thoſe who would not embrace *Arianiſm*; and when any of the Paſtors of the Church dy'd he ſuffer'd none but *Arians* to ſucceed 'em, inſomuch that in ſeveral Places the Churches lay in Ruins, the Entrances choak'd with Brambles, and Graſs growing about the Altars; and this was obſervable not only in Country Villages but in great and populous Towns, where the People refus'd to frequent the Publick Aſſemblies. With ſuch Calamities was the Church then oppreſs'd, in *Africk* under the Tyranny and Perſecution of *Genſerich*, in the Weſt under the Cruelties of the *Arians*, and under the like Cruelties of the *Eutychians* in the Eaſt; where *Zeno* upon the Death of his Father *Leo* was acknowledg'd for Emperor, and was ſuſpected to have contributed to his Death. He was no ſooner

The diſtracted Condition of the Church.

Zeno *Emperor at* Conſtantinople;

ſooner advanc'd to the Imperial Power, but he plung'd himſelf into all manner of Vices, refraining from no filthy or flagitious Act, but ſo wallow'd in his Debaucheries, that he thought it the Weakneſs of a baſe and low Spirit, to cover themſelves in Darkneſs at the Commiſſion of their Wickedneſs, but like the Grandeur of an Emperor, to Sin in broad Day-light; and as he was thus deform'd in his Mind, ſo was his Body ſaid to reſemble a Satyr more than any Human Appearance, for he was covered all over with Hair, his Shape was deform'd, and his Phyſiognomy ridiculous, tho' they who beheld him, and knew the Temper of his Mind, found more reaſon to tremble than laugh at the ſight of him. As he was thus Deform'd in his Body, and Debauch'd in his Morals, ſo was he no leſs Corrupt in his Religious Principles; for he openly avow'd himſelf the Protector of Hereſie and Schiſm, and therefore drew upon the Church Calamities unexpreſſible. As ſoon as the Citizens of *Antioch* heard of his Advancement to the Imperial Throne, thoſe of *Peter*'s Faction ſent their Agents to *Conſtantinople*, who, in the Name of the reſt, deſir'd his Re-eſtabliſhment, and brib'd ſeveral of the Courtiers to favour 'em in their Petition to the Emperor, who immediately granted their Requeſt, and *Peter* was once more ſeated in the Apoſtolick Chair of that Province; from whence he immediately denounc'd an *Anathema* againſt the Council of *Chalcedon*, and maintain'd the Errors of the *Apollinarians*, and reſtor'd ſuch Biſhops to their reſpective Sees, as had been formerly depos'd for adhering to *Eutyches*. But God ſuffer'd not the Impiety of *Zeno* to go long unpuniſh'd; for *Baſiliſcus* obſerving him to be a lewd, effeminate Prince, deſpis'd and abhor'd by the People for his abominable Vices, drew together a Company of Male-

contents, to whom he join'd ſeveral of his own Friends and Adherents, who, united together, rais'd a great Sedition againſt *Zeno* in *Conſtantinople*. *Zeno*, terrify'd at the Uproar, fled in a great Fright with his Wife into *Iſauria*, where he was well belov'd; and *Baſiliſcus* was by the Soldiers ſaluted Emperor, who, having aſſum'd the Title, conferr'd that of *Cæſar* upon his Son *Marcus*; and tho' *Baſiliſcus* did not long enjoy this Dignity, but was Dethron'd, put to Death, and *Zeno* reſtor'd; yet, becauſe he grew no better for his Misfortunes, but perſever'd in his brutiſh ſenſual way of Life, he at length came to a violent End, procur'd by his own Wife, who caus'd him one Day, Drunk, as he was after an exceſſive Debauch of Wine, to be ſhut up in a Sepulchre, and diſpos'd ſome Guards about it, in whom ſhe could confide, to prevent him from getting out. As ſoon as he was recover'd from his Lethargy he made an hideous noiſe, and deſir'd to be releas'd, but was anſwer'd, The State had no farther Occaſion for him, ſince another was now promoted to his Place; he reply'd, He was not at all concern'd at that, he only begg'd 'em to deliver him out of that noiſom Place, and confine him to a Monaſtry if they thought fit, where he might end his Days in Peace; the Soldiers were deaf to all his Lamentations, ſo that he dy'd in that horrible Reſtraint, having been firſt conſtrain'd, through Hunger, to devour one of his Arms before his Death. Some, I know, give another Account of this Emperor's End, tho' they all agree in this, that it was violent; and *Ariadne*'s Carriage after his Death, eſpecially her great Care in promoting his Succeſſor, and marrying him ſpeedily upon it, leave no room to doubt what a large ſhare ſhe had in it.

flies into Iſauria,

All

All this while the Siege continu'd before *Clermont*, but this Year, after the Besiegers had made several Breaches in the Wall, and most of the Defendants were destroy'd, either by the Sword or some other Accidents, too obvious upon those Occasions, *Ecdicius*, in Despair of any Succour, yielded it up; and being sent for by *Nepos*, was honour'd with the Dignity of Patrician, and *Orestes* was sent into *Gaul* to succeed in the Command of the Troops in those Parts. A. D. 475.

This *Orestes* was by Birth a *Goth*, and having acquir'd a great Reputation in the Wars, he was made General of the Auxiliary Forces of that Nation in *Italy*. He had upon all Occasions appear'd very vigorous in his Service to the Empire, and was therefore entrusted at this time with an Army to watch *Eurich* in *Gaul*, and be a Curb to his ambitious Practices. But this Barbarian, instead of executing his Commission like a Man of Honour, turn'd his Arms against his Master, and besieg'd him in *Ravenna*. He knew *Nepos* was in a weak Condition, and could easily be suppress'd, having stripp'd himself of those Troops that should have defended him, and committed 'em to his Conduct; so that *Nepos* finding himself unable to resist him, fled to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, where he was entertain'd by the Bishop *Glycerius*, whom the Year before he had depriv'd of the Empire, whilst *Orestes*, meeting with none strong enough to oppose him, seiz'd on the Imperial Power, and made the Army Proclaim his Son *Augustulus* Emperor. Thus we see the Title, rather than Power, of the Western Empire bandy'd from one to another, and the Imperial Dignity tos's'd from Hand to Hand, without any Reverence or Respect, by those Brokers of Majesty, who adorn'd their Creatures with the Purple, to strut upon the Stage for some time, and as

Orestes expels Nepos, and proclaims his Son Augustulus Emperor.

ſoon as they diſpleas'd 'em thruſt 'em off again. We have ſeen no leſs than Ten appearing upon it within the ſpace of Twenty Years, moſt of whom came to a violent End in their Perſons, and all of 'em in their Dignities, as if Fortune had been angry with thoſe who dar'd aſſume the Title, after ſhe had been pleas'd to break or remove the Power.

A. D. 476. *Oreſtes*, having by this means comply'd with his Ambition in providing for his Family, endeavour'd to eſtabliſh it by an Alliance with *Genſerich*, King of the *Vandals*, the moſt powerful of all his Neighbours, and took Care to preſerve the *Roman* Territories in *Gaul* againſt the *Goths*, the *Burgundians* and *Franks*, who very much encroach'd upon 'em. But all his Precautions were to no purpoſe, for thoſe of the Nobility who had been oblig'd by *Nepos*, and eſpous'd his Intereſt, diſdain'd the Tyranny and Uſurpation of a Barbarian, who had dar'd to ſet up for himſelf without their Conſents; and if of Neceſſity they muſt obey a Stranger, they reſolv'd it ſhould be one of their own Choice.

Odoacer *invited into* Italy.

Whereupon they ſent an Invitation to *Odoacer*, King of the *Heruli*, to come to their Aſſiſtance, and deliver *Italy*. *Odoacer* was well acquainted with *Oreſtes*, having ſerv'd as his Officer in the Wars; he knew the Eaſtern Empire was diſtracted with Civil Diſſentions, that the Weſt was divided and broken, that the Principal Inhabitants had fix'd their Eyes upon him, and that therefore it would be a madneſs in him to omit ſo fair an Opportunity of aggrandiſing his Family and gratifying his Ambition, for which reaſon he was reſolv'd to go whither he was call'd; accordingly he rais'd a very powerful Army conſiſting of his own Subjects, and ſuch of his Neighbours as he had allured by fair Promiſes, and hopes of Plunder. In the beginning

ginning of the Spring he paſs'd over the *Danube*, and enter'd into *Bavaria*, where *Severin*, Biſhop of the Country, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, came to meet him. *Odoacer* receiv'd him with a great deal of Reſpect, and demanded his Bleſſing, which the Biſhop gave him, and aſſur'd him of a ſucceſsful Expedition. From thence *Odoacer* enter'd into *Trent*, and ſo into the *Veroneze*, and meeting nothing to oppoſe him in his March, he proceeded on to *Lodi* in *Liguria*, where he underſtood *Oreſtes* expected him with all the Forces, both Horſe and Foot, he was able to draw together. *Odoacer* came up to him, and gave him Battel, defeated and forc'd him to fly into *Pavia* with thoſe Troops that ſtuck by him; for the *Goths* forſook him in the Engagement, becauſe he had not divided the third part of the Land among 'em, as he had formerly promis'd. With theſe Troops he enter'd the Town, thinking to make it good againſt *Odoacer*, becauſe it was well fortify'd, and ſecur'd with a good Garriſon; but *Odoacer* follow'd cloſe at his Heels, laid Siege to the Place, and, after ſome vigorous Aſſaults, took it by Force, and expos'd it to the Pillage of his Soldiers, who deſtroy'd all with Fire and Sword. *Epiphanius*, the renown'd Biſhop of the Place, with much a-do prevail'd to have his Siſter and ſome of the beſt Ladies in the Town exempted from the Outrage of the inſolent Soldiers, a Favour he bought at the Expence of almoſt all he was worth. Here *Odoacer* was ſaluted *King of* Italy, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, a Title which at once ſatisfy'd and made him proud. From *Pavia* he march'd to *Placentia*, which open'd her Gates to him, where he put *Oreſtes* to Death in the Preſence, and amidſt the Acclamations of the Victorious Army. After this he proceeded to *Ravenna*, which he took by Compoſition,

Slays Oreſtes.

on,

on, and slew *Paul*, the Brother of *Orestes*, whom he had left Governor in the Town. Hearing *Augustulus* had fled for Security to *Rome*, he directed his March with an Intent to Besiege the City, taking in all the Towns in his way, some of which were forc'd to Surrender, and others voluntarily submitted to his Government; as he drew near to *Rome* all the Inhabitants of the City, who expected again to be pillag'd, as they had been several times before, went out to meet him, and receiv'd him with Acclamations as their Lord and Soveraign.

and Dethrones Augustulus.

Augustulus, seeing it in vain to contend, threw off the Imperial Purple, and implor'd the Grace of the Conqueror, who gave him his Life, and confin'd him to *Lucullanum*, a Castle in *Campania*.

The end of the Western Empire.

In *Augustulus* fell the very Name of an Empire in the West. *Britain* had long since been quitted by the *Romans*; *Spain* was divided among the *Goths*, *Suevi*, *Alans*, and the like; *Africk* was possess'd by the *Vandals*; the *Goths*, *Burgundians* and *Franks*, had erected their several Tetrarchies in *Gaul*, and now at last *Italy* it self, that for some Ages had triumph'd over the rest of the World, became enslav'd to a Barbarian King; and *Rome*, which was once the Capital of a large and flourishing Empire, is made the Member of a petty Kingdom.

And as there was this thorough Change in the State, so was there almost as great an Alteration in the Church, and the Purity of Religion suffer'd little less than a total Eclipse, when the Majesty of the Empire was expiring; for as on one side Irreligion and Prophanness naturally spring out of War and Confusion, so on the other all the Christian World was at present under the Dominion either of Heathen or Heretical Princes. The Kings of *Persia*, and of the *Franks* were Heathens; in the East

was

was reigning either *Baſiliſcus*, an *Arian*, or *Zeno*, a debauch'd, diſſolute *Eutychian*. All *Africk* was in the Poſſeſſion of *Genſerich*, an obſtinate *Arian*, and a cruel Perſecutor of the Catholick Chriſtians. *Eurich* was of the like Temper in *Gaul*, *Odoacer* in *Italy*, and the Kings in *Spain* were as zealous Aſſerters of the ſame damnable Hereſie. So that from theſe Conſiderations we may reaſonably conclude, it requir'd the ſame Almighty Power to preſerve the Chriſtian Faith pure and undefil'd, as it did at firſt to eſtabliſh it; nor are we to wonder if, in that long Night of Ignorance and Error, the Enemy took the Advantage of Sowing his Tare among the good Seed, which in ſucceeding Ages brought forth ſo plentiful an Harveſt.

Odoacer continu'd for ſome time at *Rome*, where he aſſum'd the Sovereign Power and Abſolute Dominion, which however he us'd with much Moderation, for he refus'd the Purple, and other Imperial Ornaments, contenting himſelf with the Marks of Royalty. He diligently apply'd himſelf to the Settlement of Affairs in his new Kingdom, and the Security of his late Conqueſts; for this reaſon he courted the Friendſhip of the *Goths*, which *Oreſtes* had call'd in to his Aſſiſtance, aſſigning 'em a third part of the Lands in *Italy*, which he had promis'd 'em; for the preſent he ſet aſide the Dignity of Conſuls in *Rome*, becauſe they ſeem'd to aſſume too great and unſeaſonable a Power; and that his Subjects might be induc'd both to fear and reſpect him, he gave 'em ſome publick Examples of his Juſtice and Severity. When he had diſpos'd of all things according to his Will and Pleaſure at *Rome*, he went and ſettled at *Ravenna*, where he uſually kept his Court.

From this time forward we hardly meet with the very Shadow of the ancient *Roman* Greatneſs, which

which as it exceeded all that ever went before it, ſo has it been equall'd by none ſince. The various Fortunes of this mighty State afford our Thoughts a Proſpect full of Admiration and Curioſity, whether we conſider it in its Birth, in its Eſtabliſhment, or Diſſolution; for certainly no People ever experienc'd ſo many Forms of Government, and yet flouriſh'd with equal Vigour in 'em all. Such Changes and Revolutions, as like Earthquakes would have torn up other Nations, made them the ſtronger; and Difficulties, that would have weigh'd down and diſſolv'd other Governments, render'd them the more invincible. Their Greatneſs, at which the reſt of the World ſtood amaz'd, was in few reſpects accidental, in moſt eſſential, and their Riſe, as well as Fall, was owing not ſo much to Fortune as themſelves. From a Pack of looſe Vagabonds and wand'ring Shepherds, they form'd themſelves, by degrees, into a Civil Society, and before they knew what Law and Government mean'd learn'd to obey, firſt a Succeſſion of Kings, different in their Tempers, and contradictory in their Maxims; the gentle Diſpenſation of a Legal Monarchy grew, by degrees, corrupted to an unbounded Tyranny; and that on a ſudden was ſoften'd into the Freedom of a Common-wealth; and yet in all theſe Revolutions they puſh'd on without Intermiſſion, to that which from the beginning they ſeem'd to have in view, the Univerſal Empire. That Maxim, which compares different Forms of Government to different Climates, and ſuppoſes this agreeable to one Nation, and that to another, would not have held with them; for they who were one Day to be the Commanders of the whole World, ought to have a Genius as extenſive as their Dominions. Their Power became more enlarg'd abroad under the Imperial Dignity,

but

but then by degrees they grew more enſlav'd at home, and their Greatneſs being arriv'd at its Meridian ſhone with too intenſe a Heat, and foretold a Declenſion; which however proceeded not ſo much from the Depravity of the People in general, as from the Luxury, Sloth, Pride and Ambition of their Emperors; ſome of whom holding the Reins too ſtraight, others too remiſs, are an Inſtance to us how much the Welfare of a Nation depends upon the Diſpoſitions of its Prince, whoſe Heart is in the Hand of Providence, the great Ruler of the Univerſe.

This great Revolution in the Weſt happen'd about 522 Years after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, which gave a Beginning to the Empire; 501 after the full Settlement of it under *Auguſtus*; 380 after the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*; 146 after the Removal of the Imperial Seat to *Byzantium*; about 101 after the Admiſſion of the *Goths* into *Thrace*; 66 from the firſt Captivity of *Rome*; and 476 after the Nativity of our Saviour.

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